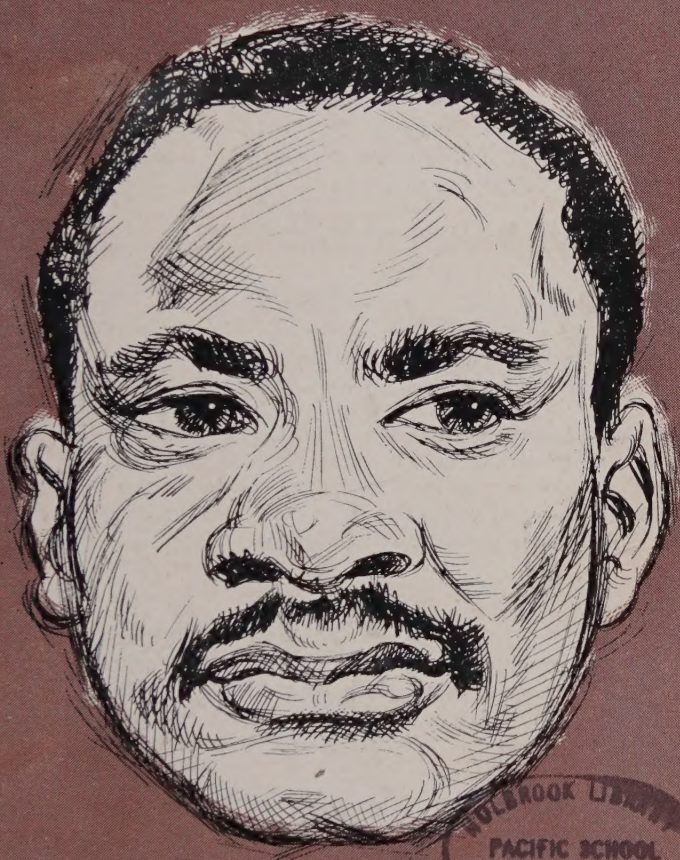




Martin Luther King Jr.



MY PILGRIMAGE TO NONVIOLENCE

Jack Ross

CHICAGO'S RACE VIOLENCE — UNCENSORED

Paul L. Holmer

KIERKEGAARD'S LESSONS FOR PACIFISTS

Winifred F. Courtney

NEW HOPE FOR SOUTH WEST AFRICA

John R. Yungblut

THE MINISTRY OF RECONCILIATION

Fellowship

Box 271, Nyack, New York

VOL. 24 • NO. 17

SEPTEMBER 1, 1958

In Context	1
Contributors	3
My Pilgrimage to Nonviolence—Martin Luther King Jr.	4
A distinguished Negro leader discusses the personal and intellectual experiences that shaped his thought before he became a pastor.	
Poem to be Placed in a Cornerstone Somewhere— Carl Seaburg	9
Chicago's Race Violence—Uncensored—Jack Ross	10
Behind the veil of local press censorship lies an explosive racial situation in America's second-largest city. Here are the disturbing facts.	
Kierkegaard's Lessons for Pacifists—Paul L. Holmer	13
A noted scholar focuses on the Danish writer who has contributed so profoundly to contemporary Christian thought and gleans from his "three stages" a challenge for pacifists, as well as their critics.	
Peace Information Edition	17
New Hope for South West Africa—Winifred F. Courtney	21
Although nominally an international trust territory, this vast area and its people have been in bondage to the Union of South Africa and its racist policies. Will UN debate this fall bring a measure of freedom?	
Rocket, poem—Leo Hamalian	23
The Ministry of Reconciliation—John R. Yungblut	24
A meditation on the threefold mission of the Christian to heal the cleavage between man and himself, between man and man, and between man and God.	
Potpourri:	
Nonviolence and Social Order—Lawrence Scott	28
An outspoken advocate of civil disobedience and direct action techniques cautions against their misuse and argues for responsibility and love in the use of nonviolence.	
Books	30
Films	32
Letters	35

MEMBER ASSOCIATED CHURCH PRESS

EDITOR
ALFRED HASSLER

MANAGING EDITOR
WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS

Vera Brittain
Margueritte Harmon Bro
Allan Knight Chalmers
Bernard C. Clausen
Sarah N. Cleghorn
Florence Converse
Henry Hitt Crane
Albert Edward Day
Eugene Exman
Caleb Foote
Albert Fowler
Richard B. Gregg
Wallace Hamilton
John Haynes Holmes
Allan A. Hunter
Aldous Huxley
Josephine W. Johnson
Jameson Jones
Martin Luther King Jr.
Muriel Lester
Halford E. Luccock
Milton Mayer
Alfred D. Moore
Ferner Nuhn
Edith Lovejoy Pierce
Pitirim A. Sorokin
Douglas V. Steere
Howard Thurman

ILLUSTRATOR
BARRY MARTIN

FELLOWSHIP is published twice monthly. Re-entered a second-class matter January 1, 1958 at the Post Office at Nyack, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

FELLOWSHIP
IS PUBLISHED BY THE
FELLOWSHIP OF
RECONCILIATION

CHAIRMAN
CHARLES R. LAWRENCE

CO-SECRETARIES
JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.
ALFRED HASSLER

SECRETARY EMERITUS
A. J. MUSTE

FIELD SECRETARY
GLENN E. SMILEY



30 CENTS A COPY

\$3 A YEAR

FALLOUT

Along with the report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation,¹ which last month learned of the genetic and somatic risks involved in added doses of radiation, two other items were published that reflected something of the kind of callousness of which men too frequently are capable.

The first was the response of the Atomic Energy Commission, under whose aegis American tests are carried out. The AEC remarked with unusual promptitude, (a) that it was a fine report, (b) that it pointed out that there is no *certainty* that fallout could produce new cases of leukemia and bone cancer, and (c) that it estimated the genetic effects of fallout as only a small fraction of the probable effects of natural radiation.

A more accurate way of reporting what the committee said at these points would be that (b) in our present state of ignorance concerning the effects of radiation, we can only speculate; if even the slightest dose may induce leukemia, then the added radiation from tests up to this year could account for from 25,000 to 150,000 cases of that disease; and (c) genetically it is possible that from 500 to 40,000 cases annually could result from the testing if continued at the present rate.

Along with the AEC response, the *New York Times* published the text of a memorandum from the late Dr. John von Neumann, member of the AEC, to then-chairman Lewis E. Strauss, when the UN committee was first discussed in 1955.

Von Neumann was concerned about the investigation because "the present vague hints and vague talk regarding the adverse worldwide effects of radioactive contamination are all geared to the concept that any general damage to life must be excluded."

This concept was wrong, he argued, since all advances are accompanied by risks. For the advantages of automobile transportation, for example, we "willingly pay" at the rate of 30-40,000 fatalities annually, while X-rays and other medical advances also include unpredictable dangers. The advantages from nuclear discoveries, von Neumann speculated, might be well worth the price in human suffering.

Prof. Max Lerner, writing in the *New York Post*,² indignantly exploded the von Neumann argument. X-rays and antibiotics and other medical developments were meant to save and heal, he observed, not to kill. The risks, moreover, are directly to the person being helped, who can decide for himself whether the price is too great. Nuclear fallout, of course, falls on victims who have no choice.

But in the second place, writes Lerner,

"Who picked the U.S.—who picked any country—to be the carrier alike of beneficence and bane for the rest of mankind? There is a lot of hypocrisy draining through most of the official American statements about fallout. We wave aloft the banner of all good things that will befall men from Patagonia to Tibet as a result of atoms-for-peace, when the harsh fact is that the General Staff can't bear to see the tests end because they need more perfect death weapons.

"But even if that higher banner told the truth, who appointed us to decide for other men that the monsters which may or may not some day be born of the mutant genes are a small price to pay for Nuclear Utopia Unlimited?"

Were a referendum taken in this country of its citizens' willingness to incur the possible risks involved in continued testing, it is possible, though not likely, that the majority would vote to continue. It is inconceivable that there would be anything but an overwhelmingly negative response were such a referendum to be made on a

¹See news pages.

²August 11, 1958.

world-wide basis. What we are confronted with as a nation, therefore, is the question of whether we will continue to rain these incalculable doses of death on our unwilling and resentful fellows. As Prof. Lerner concludes:

"The children of men are all scrambled together by a common doom or a common salvation, now and for generations to come."

WITNESSES

A startled New York City was host this summer to a convention of Jehovah's Witnesses that overflowed even the metropolis' vast accommodations. More than 180,000 Witnesses from 120 countries jammed two large stadia on the last day of the week-long meeting, and New Yorkers gasped at the sight.

The Witnesses startled the Gothamites by more than numbers. Reporters marvelled at the good nature and courtesy exhibited by the visitors in crowded subways during one of the city's muggiest hot spells. "There is nothing wrong with manners in the Bronx," wrote one commentator, "that a little bad [Witness] theology wouldn't cure."

The Witnesses had some 160,000 adherents in 1941; today they have close to 800,000, making them the world's fastest growing religious organization. That fact, combined with their strange theology, stimulated one journal to interview some of the more recent additions to the sect, to find out why they joined. The answers suggest that the Jehovah's Witnesses have been doing the job the pacifists have left undone.

They joined, they said in one way or another, because the Witnesses confirmed their own feelings that the way the world is running is not the way God would want it to run, and because the orthodox churches don't seem to have much to say about it. One man recalled his revulsion when, during the war, a chaplain met to pray with men about to go into battle, and he realized suddenly that on the other side other clergymen were also speaking God's blessing on the enemy soldiers. "The Witnesses showed me," he said, "that God wasn't on either side."

We suspect that for many of these new

thousands it is not the Witnesses' prophecies of an early Armageddon, or the 14,000 to be taken into heaven that attract them, but the firm disclosure that God isn't on either side, and that there is a different way for men to live. Perhaps pacifists should learn the language.

SELF-RIGHTEOUS

Elsewhere in this issue Martin Luther King Jr., propelled by history within a few short years to the status of the country's best-known expositor of nonviolence, explains how he got that way. The whole account will be of interest to pacifists, but one paragraph will trouble Fellowship members, as Dr. King explains why he never joined a pacifist organization.

Pacifists, he charges, frequently fail to see the "complexity of man's social involvement and the glaring reality of collective evil"; have an "unwarranted optimism concerning man" and lean "unconsciously toward self-righteousness."

"I felt then, and I feel now," the paragraph concludes, "that the pacifist would have a greater appeal if he did not claim to be free from the moral dilemmas that the Christian nonpacifist confronts."

It is an unsettling indictment from someone like Dr. King, partly because of familiarity. It sounds, indeed, more like a re-statement of a Niebuhrian commonplace on prewar pacifism than the considered judgment of someone acquainted with contemporary pacifist thought.

That does not mean that the commonplace is to be dismissed lightly. Anyone who takes a moral stand that runs contrary to the majority position on an issue of acute importance is likely to sound self-righteous, but some of us sound more self-righteous than we need to. Pacifists who dismiss with contempt the arguments with which they disagree, or who sum up their case with the accusation, "Why don't you take Christianity seriously?"—and there are such—present their case in a far from winsome light. And pacifists who talk as though the unhappy world situation were the personal creation of John Foster Dulles, as though the achievement of peace were simply a matter of having a summit conference, or creating a UN police force, a

nerable to the charge of over-simplification.

But these do not represent the main stream of pacifist thought, nor do they, we think, present a fair evaluation of the major pacifist organizations. Certainly there are few pacifists of any stature who could claim to be "free from the moral lemmas that the Christian nonpacifist confronts," and we doubt that Dr. King could find much documentation for the charge in contemporary pacifist literature. The self-righteous, the hypocritical and the arrogant may be found in any organization that stands in judgment on any aspect of society. The Church has its share; so do the Montgomery Improvement Association and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The unlovely characteristics are frequently the signs of the ego bolstering itself against the pressures of life, and point to the personality that needs support and assurance within the organization.

The Montgomery "walk for freedom" is in the full stream of contemporary pacifism. It used methods and techniques which pacifist organizations had experimented for a decade or more, studied pacifist-published literature, and acknowledged advice and help from pacifist organizational staff members. It was not a movement that attempted to evade the moral dilemmas in its arena, but came to grips with conflict in terms that combined responsibility and love.

The pacifist seeks to do the same in the arena of world affairs and, humanly perfect though he is, does so in the company of those who share his basic insights and convictions. Martin Luther King could be one of that company.

NOTED WITHOUT COMMENT

California's State Senator Nelson Dillworth, chairman of the Senate committee that "investigated" pacifism in the schools a couple of years ago, is now member of a committee investigating mental health surveys. A Los Angeles newspaper reports that one of the committee members said the public's increasing concern with the above problems of mental health is a Communist plot.

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE

Martin Luther King Jr. is the young pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church of Montgomery, Alabama, who attained international prominence as leader of the successful year-long non-violent campaign to end segregated seating on the buses in that city. As president of the Montgomery Improvement Association and of the Southern Christian Leaders Conference, he has been in the forefront of the struggle for racial equality. Dr. King is the author of "Walk for Freedom" and "Facing the Challenge of a New Age," which appeared in *FELLOWSHIP* in 1956 and 1957 respectively.

Jack Ross is a convinced Quaker who, as a staff member of the American Friends Service Committee, has worked with juvenile delinquents and with problems of interracial conflict in Chicago. Formerly AFSC Work and Study Director, he is now leading the AFSC Internes in Industry program there. He describes as his special concern "the application of pacifism in solution of conflicts in everyday affairs."

Paul L. Holmer is a professor of philosophy at the University of Minnesota and a recognized authority on Kierkegaard. He edited *Selections From the Edifying Discourses* by Kierkegaard, recently published as a Harper Torchbook (paperback).

Winifred F. Courtney is Alternate Observer at the United Nations for the American Committee on Africa, as well as Referent on Africa for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She has written articles on Africa for *Friends Journal*, the *American Friend* and *Africa Today*.

John R. Yungblut is rector of St. John's Parish, Waterbury, Conn., and chairman of the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship. "The Ministry of Reconciliation" is one of a group of meditations to be published in book form by the Seabury Press.

CORRECTION: Through a mistake in editing, **Norman S. Cohn** was referred to in the July 1 issue of *FELLOWSHIP* as "an FOR member." Dr. Cohn is not a member of the FOR, and the editors apologize for this error.

The editors also regret omission of the credit line for the cover photo, which was used by courtesy of the Chugoku Press, Hiroshima, Japan.

My Pilgrimage to Nonviolence

BY MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.



OFTEN THE QUESTION has arisen concerning my own intellectual pilgrimage to nonviolence. In order to get at this question it is necessary to go back to my early teens in Atlanta. I had grown up abhorring not only segregation but also the oppressive and barbarous acts that grew out of it. I had passed spots where Negroes had been savagely lynched, and had watched the Ku Klux Klan on its rides at night. I had seen police brutality with my own eyes, and watched Negroes receive the most tragic injustice in the courts. All of these things had done something to my growing personality. I had come perilously close to resenting all white people.

I had also learned that the inseparable twin of racial injustice was economic injustice. Although I came from a home of economic security and relative comfort, I could never get out of my mind the economic insecurity of many of my playmates and the tragic poverty of those living around me. During my late teens I worked two summers, against my father's wishes—he never wanted my brother and me to work around white people because of the oppressive conditions—in a plant that hired both Negroes and whites. Here I saw economic injustice firsthand, and realized that the poor white was exploited just as much as the Negro. Through these early experiences I grew up deeply conscious of the varieties of injustice in our society.

So when I went to Atlanta's Morehouse College as a freshman in 1944 my concern for racial and economic justice was already

substantial. During my student days at Morehouse I read Thoreau's *Essay on Civil Disobedience* for the first time. Fascinated by the idea of refusing to cooperate with an evil system, I was so deeply moved that I reread the work several times. This was my first intellectual contact with the theory of nonviolent resistance.

Not until I entered Crozer Theological Seminary in 1948, however, did I begin a serious intellectual quest for a method to eliminate social evil. Although my major interest was in the fields of theology and philosophy, I spent a great deal of time reading the works of the great social philosophers. I came early to Walter Rauschenbusch's *Christianity and the Social Crisis* which left an indelible imprint on my thinking by giving me a theological basis for the social concern which had already grown up in me as a result of my early experiences. Of course there were points at which I differed with Rauschenbusch. I felt that he had fallen victim to the nineteenth-century "cult of inevitable progress" which led him to a superficial optimism concerning man's nature. Moreover, he came perilously close to identifying the Kingdom of God with a particular social and economic system—a tendency which should never befall the Church. But in spite of these shortcomings Rauschenbusch had done a great service for the Christian Church by insisting that the gospel deals with the whole man, not only his soul but his body; not only his spiritual well-being but his material well-being. It has been my conviction ever since reading Rauschenbusch that any religion which professes to be concerned about the souls of men and is not concerned about

Copyright © 1958 by Martin Luther King. From his forthcoming book, *STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM: The Montgomery Story*, to be published in September by Harper & Brothers, Inc. \$2.95.

social and economic conditions that the soul, is a spiritually moribund religion only waiting for the day to be buried. It well has been said: "A religion that is at odds with the individual, ends."

After reading Rauschenbusch, I turned to a serious study of the social and ethical theories of the great philosophers, from Plato and Aristotle down to Rousseau, Mill, Bentham, Mill and Locke. All of these masters stimulated my thinking—such as it was—and, while finding things to question in each of them, I nevertheless learned a great deal from their study.

The Challenge of Marxism

During the Christmas holidays of 1949 I decided to spend my spare time reading Karl Marx to try to understand the appeal of communism for many people. For the first time I carefully scrutinized *Das Kapital* and *The Communist Manifesto*. I also read the interpretive works on the thinking of Marx and Lenin. In reading such Communist writings I drew certain conclusions that have remained with me to this day.

First I rejected their materialistic interpretation of history. Communism, avowedly secularistic and materialistic, has no place for God. This I could never accept, for as a Christian I believe that there is creative personal power in this universe and that God is the ground and essence of all reality—a power that cannot be explained in materialistic terms. History is ultimately determined by spirit, not matter.

Second, I strongly disagreed with communism's ethical relativism. Since for the communist there is no divine government, no absolute moral order, there are no fixed, immutable principles; consequently almost anything—force, violence, murder, lying—is a justifiable means to the "millennial" end. This type of relativism was abhorrent to me. Constructive ends can never give absolute moral justification to destructive means, because in the final analysis the end preexists in the mean.

Third, I opposed communism's political totalitarianism. In communism the individual ends up in subjection to the state. In effect, the Marxist would argue that the state is an "interim" reality which is to be liquidated when the classless society emerges; but the state is the end while it

lasts, and man only a means to that end. And if any man's so-called rights or liberties stand in the way of that end, they are simply swept aside. His liberties of expression, his freedom to vote, his freedom to listen to what news he likes or to choose his books are all restricted. Man becomes hardly more, in communism, than a depersonalized cog in the turning wheel of the state.

This deprecation of individual freedom was objectionable to me. I am convinced now, as I was then, that man is an end in himself because he is a child of God. Man is not made for the state; the state is made for man. To deprive man of freedom is to relegate him to the status of a thing, rather than elevate him to the status of a person. Man must never be treated as a means to the end of the state, but always as an end within himself.

Yet, in spite of the fact that my response to communism was and is negative, and I considered it basically evil, there were points at which I found it challenging. The late Archbishop of Canterbury, William Temple, referred to communism as a Christian heresy. By this he meant that communism had laid hold of certain truths which are essential parts of the Christian view of things, but that it had bound up with them concepts and practices which no Christian could ever accept or profess. Communism challenged the late Archbishop and it should challenge every Christian—as it challenged me—to a growing concern about social justice. With all of its false assumptions and evil methods, communism grew as a protest against the hardships of the underprivileged. Communism in theory emphasized a classless society, and a concern for social justice, though the world knows from sad experience that in practice it created new classes and a new lexicon of injustice. The Christian ought always to be challenged by any protest against unfair treatment of the poor, for Christianity is itself such a protest, nowhere expressed more eloquently than in Jesus' words: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

I also sought systematic answers to Marx's critique of modern bourgeois culture. He presented capitalism as essentially a struggle between the owners of the productive resources and the workers, whom Marx regarded as the real producers. Marx interpreted economic forces as the dialectical process by which society moved from feudalism through capitalism to socialism, with the primary mechanism of this historical movement being the struggle between economic classes whose interests were irreconcilable. Obviously this theory left out of account the numerous and significant complexities—political, economic, moral, religious, and psychological—which played a vital role in shaping the constellation of institutions and ideas known today as Western civilization. Moreover, it was dated in the sense that the capitalism Marx wrote about bore only a partial resemblance to the capitalism we know in this country today.

Toward a New Social Synthesis

But in spite of the shortcomings of his analysis, Marx had raised some basic questions. I was deeply concerned from my early teen days about the gulf between superfluous wealth and abject poverty, and my reading of Marx made me ever more conscious of this gulf. Although modern American capitalism had greatly reduced the gap through social reforms, there was still need for a better distribution of wealth. Moreover, Marx had revealed the danger of the profit motive as the sole basis of an economic system; capitalism is always in danger of inspiring men to be more concerned about making a living than making a life. We are prone to judge success by the index of our salaries or the size of our automobiles, rather than by the quality of our service and relationship to humanity—thus capitalism can lead to a practical materialism that is as pernicious as the materialism taught by communism.

In short, I read Marx as I read all of the influential historical thinkers—from a dialectical point of view, combining a partial "yes" and a partial "no." In so far as Marx posited a metaphysical materialism, an ethical relativism, and a strangulating totalitarianism, I responded with an unambiguous "no"; but in so far as he pointed to weaknesses of traditional capitalism, con-

tributed to the growth of a definite social consciousness in the masses, and challenging the social conscience of the Christian churches, I responded with a definite "yes."

My reading of Marx also convinced me that truth is found neither in Marxism nor in traditional capitalism. Each represents a partial truth. Historically capitalism failed to see the truth in collective enterprise, Marxism failed to see the truth in individual enterprise. Nineteenth century capitalism failed to see that life is social and Marxism failed and still fails to see that life is individual and personal. The Kingdom of God is neither the thesis of individual enterprise nor the antithesis of collective enterprise, but a synthesis which reconciles the truths of both.

Muste, Nietzsche and Gandhi

During my stay at Crozer, I was first exposed for the first time to the pacifist position in a lecture by A. J. Muste. I was deeply moved by Mr. Muste's talk, but I was from convinced of the practicability of the position. Like most of the students at Crozer, I felt that while war could never be a positive or absolute good, it could serve as a negative good in the sense of preventing the spread and growth of an evil. World War, horrible as it is, might be preferable to surrender to a totalitarian system—Nazism, Fascism, or Communism.

During this period I had about despaired of the power of love in solving social problems. Perhaps my faith in love was temporarily shaken by the philosophy of Nietzsche. I had been reading parts of *The Genealogy of Morals* and the whole of *The Will to Power*. Nietzsche's glorification of power in his theory all life expressed the will to power—was an outgrowth of his contempt for ordinary morals. He attacked the whole of the Hebraic-Christian morality—with its virtues of piety and humility, its otherworldliness and its attitude toward suffering—as the glorification of weakness, making virtues out of necessity and impotence. He looked to the development of a superman who would surpass man as man surpassed the ape.

Then one Sunday afternoon I traveled to Philadelphia to hear a sermon by Dr. M. decaï Johnson, president of Howard University. He was there to preach for the F

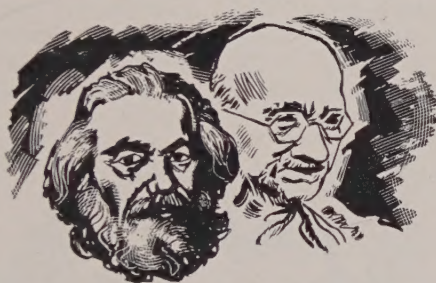
ship House of Philadelphia. Dr. John had just returned from a trip to India, and, to my great interest, he spoke of the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. His message was so profound and electrifying that I left the meeting and bought a half-dozen books on Gandhi's life and works. Like most people, I had heard of Gandhi, but I had never studied him seriously. As I read I became deeply fascinated by his campaigns of nonviolent resistance. I was particularly moved by the Salt March to the sea and his numerous fasts. The whole concept of "Satyagraha" (*Satya* is truth which implies love, and *agraha* is force; "Satyagraha," therefore, means truth-force or love-force) was profoundly significant to me. As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi my skepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished, and I came to see for the first time the potency in the area of social reform. Prior to reading Gandhi, I had about concluded that the ethics of Jesus were only effective in individual relationship. The "turn the other cheek" philosophy and the "love your enemies" philosophy were only valid, I felt, when individuals were in conflict with other individuals; when racial groups and nations were in conflict a more realistic approach seemed necessary. But after reading Gandhi, I saw how utterly mistaken I was. Gandhi was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale. Love, for Gandhi, was a potent instrument for social and collective transformation. It was in this Gandhian emphasis on love and nonviolence that I discovered the method for social reform that I had been seeking for so many months. The intellectual and moral satisfaction that I failed to gain from the utilitarianism of Bentham and Mill, the revolutionary methods of Marx and Lenin, the social-contracts theory of Hobbes, the "back to nature" optimism of Rousseau, the superman philosophy of Nietzsche, I found in the nonviolent resistance philosophy of Gandhi. I came to

feel that this was the only morally and practically sound method open to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom.

An Encounter With Niebuhr

But my intellectual odyssey to nonviolence did not end here. During my last year in theological school, I began to read the works of Reinhold Niebuhr. The prophetic and realistic elements in Niebuhr's passionate style and profound thought were appealing to me, and I became so enamored of his social ethics that I almost fell into the trap of accepting uncritically everything he wrote.

About this time I read Niebuhr's critique of the pacifist position. Niebuhr had himself once been a member of the pacifist ranks.



For several years, he had been national chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.* His break with pacifism came in the early thirties, and the first full statement of his criticism of pacifism was in *Moral Man and Immoral So-*

cietiy. Here he argued that there was no intrinsic moral difference between violent and nonviolent resistance. The social consequences of the two methods were different, he contended, but the differences were in degree rather than kind. Later Niebuhr began emphasizing the irresponsibility of relying on nonviolent resistance when there was no ground for believing that it would be successful in preventing the spread of totalitarian tyranny. It could only be successful, he argued, if the groups against whom the resistance was taking place had some degree of moral conscience, as was the case in Gandhi's struggle against the British. Niebuhr's ultimate rejection of pacifism was based primarily on the doctrine of man. He argued that pacifism failed to do justice to the reformation doctrine of justification by faith, substituting for it a sectarian perfectionism which believes "that divine grace actually lifts man out of the sinful contradictions of history and establishes him above the sins of the world."

* 1931-32. Ed.

At first, Niebuhr's critique of pacifism left me in a state of confusion. As I continued to read, however, I came to see more and more the shortcomings of his position. For instance, many of his statements revealed that he interpreted pacifism as a sort of passive nonresistance to evil expressing naive trust in the power of love. But this was a serious distortion. My study of Gandhi convinced me that true pacifism is not nonresistance to evil, but nonviolent resistance to evil. Between the two positions, there is a world of difference. Gandhi resisted evil with as much vigor and power as the violent resister, but he resisted with love instead of hate. True pacifism is not unrealistic submission to evil power, as Niebuhr contends. It is rather a courageous confrontation of evil by the power of love, in the faith that it is better to be the recipient of violence than the inflicter of it, since the latter only multiplies the existence of violence and bitterness in the universe, while the former may develop a sense of shame in the opponent, and thereby bring about a transformation and change of heart.

In spite of the fact that I found many things to be desired in Niebuhr's philosophy, there were several points at which he constructively influenced my thinking. Niebuhr's great contribution to contemporary theology is that he has refuted the false optimism characteristic of a great segment of Protestant liberalism, without falling into the anti-rationalism of the continental theologian Karl Barth, or the semi-fundamentalism of other dialectical theologians. Moreover, Niebuhr has extraordinary insight into human nature, especially the behavior of nations and social groups. He is keenly aware of the complexity of human motives and of the relation between morality and power. His theology is a persistent reminder of the reality of sin on every level of man's existence. These elements in Niebuhr's thinking helped me to recognize the illusions of a superficial optimism concerning human nature and the dangers of a false idealism. While I still believed in

man's potential for good, Niebuhr made realize his potential for evil as well. Moreover, Niebuhr helped me to recognize the complexity of man's social involvement and the glaring reality of collective evil.

Many pacifists, I felt, failed to see this. All too many had an unwarranted optimism concerning man and leaned unconsciously toward self-righteousness. It was my resistance against these attitudes under the influence of Niebuhr that accounts for the fact that, in spite of my strong leaning toward pacifism, I never joined a pacifist organization. After reading Niebuhr, I tried to arrive at a realistic pacifism. In other words, I came to see the pacifist position not as sinful but as the lesser evil in the circumstances. I felt then, and I feel now, that the pacifist would have a greater appeal if he did not claim to be free from the moral dilemma that the Christian nonpacifist confronts.



The next stage of my intellectual pilgrimage to nonviolence came during my doctoral studies at Boston University. Here I had the opportunity to listen to many expound on the virtues of nonviolence, both to students and visitors to the campus. Boston University School of Theology, under the influence of Dean Walter Muellder and Professor Allan Knight Chalmers, had a deep sympathy for pacifism. Both Dean Muellder and Dr. Chalmers had a passion for social justice that stemmed, not from a superficial optimism, but from a deep faith in the possibilities of human betterment when they allowed themselves to become co-workers with God. It was at Boston University that I came to see that Niebuhr had overemphasized the corruption of human nature. His pessimism concerning human nature was not balanced by an optimism concerning divine nature. He was so involved in diagnosing man's sickness of sin that he overlooked the cure of grace.

I studied philosophy and theology at Boston University under Edgar S. Brightman and L. Harold DeWolf. Both men greatly stimulated my thinking. It was mainly under these teachers that I studied personalistic philosophy—the theory that

to the meaning of ultimate reality is and in personality. This personal ideal remains today my basic philosophical position. Personalism's insistence that only personality—finite and infinite—is ultimately real strengthened me in two convictions: I have a metaphysical and philosophical grounding for the idea of a personal God, and it gave me a metaphysical basis for the dignity and worth of all human personality. Just before Dr. Brightman's death, I began studying the philosophy of Hegel with Professor J. G. Bennett. Although the course was mainly a study of Hegel's monumental work, *Phenomenology of Mind*, I spent my spare time reading his *Philosophy of History* and *Philosophy of Right*. There were points in Hegel's philosophy that I strongly disagreed with. For instance, his absolute idealism seemed to me rationally unsound because it seemed to swallow up the many in the one. But there were other aspects of his thinking that I found stimulating. His contention that "truth is the whole" led me to a philosophical method of rational coherence. His analysis of the dialectical process, in spite of its shortcomings, helped me to see that growth comes through struggle. In 1954 I ended my formal training with the completion of these relative divergent intellectual paths converging into a positive social philosophy.

One of the main tenets of this philosophy was the conviction that nonviolent resistance was one of the most potent weapons available to oppressed people in their quest for social justice. At this time, however, I had merely an intellectual understanding and appreciation of the position, with no firm determination to organize it in a socially effective situation.

When I went to Montgomery as a pastor, I had not the slightest idea that I would later become involved in a crisis in which nonviolent resistance would be applicable. I neither started the protest nor suggested it. I simply responded to the call of the people for a spokesman. When the protest began, my mind, consciously or unconsciously, was driven back to the Sermon on the Mount, with its sublime teachings on love, and the Gandhian method of nonviolent resistance. As the days unfolded, I came to see the power of nonviolence more and more. Living through the actual experience of the protest, nonviolence became more than a method to which I gave intellectual assent; it became a commitment to a way of life. Many of the things that I had not cleared up intellectually concerning nonviolence were now solved in the sphere of practical action.

POEM TO BE PLACED IN A CORNERSTONE SOMEWHERE

Placid, lucid was the light
That stethoscoped thru all our night
Making but a moment in
The movement of the earth
Bright upon the landscape as
Kaleidoscopic mirth.

Can we touch the tears of men
Or is there only hydrogen?
Ours the universal luck
To be a cosmic sneeze
Samson dragging down the church
Of the minorities.

—CARL SEABURG



CHICAGO'S RACE VIOLENCE UNCENSORED

BY JACK ROSS

IN AN ARTICLE published in FELLOWSHIP last October,* but written in April, I referred to my hopes that there would be no major racial conflicts in Chicago during the summer "riot weather." The editor, having read of no such events, concluded that there had been no violence and unintentionally introduced errors in the updated version. He could not have known that more than fifty recorded cases of racial violence occurred in Chicago last summer, because the mass media have adopted, under pressure of a municipal agency, a policy of censoring reports of such incidents.

It is the purpose of this article to make the facts known, to examine the causes of Northern racial violence, and to discuss courses of action.

The Chicago Urban League will soon publish a report, drawn only from official sources, which records 165 incidents of racial violence in 1956-1957. The incidents range from broken windows to four murders. An informal survey I made of only one of Chicago's many tense neighborhoods shows that this report badly understates the facts. Negro families told me that they very often report the first broken window or the first assault or the first insult, but that police either do nothing or make the problem worse by drawing attention to it. In addition, in many cases in which the police do act, the courts stall, bungle, or overtly favor white partisans.

For example, in the case previously reported in FELLOWSHIP,** two men were arrested after firing shots through the win-

dows of the home of a Negro family. The men were brought to trial. The judge granted continuances eleven times, in an obvious attempt to harass the complainants. Failing in the attempt to break their will for justice, he dismissed the case. The accused had admitted the guilt in public and bragged about it.

Based on the inadequate information available, the facts, briefly, are these:

1. The number of incidents is increasing.
2. The frequency of incidents comes to a peak in the Spring and Summer months.
3. Almost all of the incidents occur around the border of the Negro ghetto.
4. Most reported cases involved initial attacks on Negroes by whites, followed by retaliatory attacks by Negroes. The latter attacks are increasing. These are not fights but one-sided assaults on individuals and groups.
5. Most of these incidents were initiated by teenagers.

Behind the Facts

In the North the Negro or other minority worker will find a typical city geography: blighted houses in ghetto areas which he must go, either in the rotting center of the old city or in special segregated areas near giant suburban plants. He is wanted as a worker, but not as a resident. A Chicago Negro has to pay one third to one half more for lodging than a white man. He wants a decent place to live, and so he tries to move beyond the ghetto.

The number of incidents is increasing because the number of immigrants is increasing, and the segregated pattern is

* "Plan Five: The Story of a Man Who Likes Flowers."

** Ibid.

anged. No amount of good social work intensified police work will do any good at all unless housing segregation is eliminated. Chicago is the most segregated of any large American city, and officially it is doing virtually nothing to deal with the basic issues. Desegregation will bring terrific problems, but it must come. Even an indication at a serious attempt to begin is contemplated would be a tremendous relief to the harassed Negro community, but no such harbinger seems imminent. With the exception of a few bright spots, Chicago's racial climate is tense, and many experts expect major riots soon. But there is little hope that any better solution than clubbing police will be applied by official Chicago.

We make this dire prediction because of basic causes of previous violence remain unchanged. What are these causes, within the main cause of segregation itself? At the expanding Negro ghetto edge we often find a buffer zone of other minorities, such as Puerto Ricans. They have many difficulties too, but it is the Negro who most often experiences violence. Outside the buffer zone is the more desirable, less crowded white area. In Chicago, May 1 additionally is moving day—the time when leases expire and many Negroes decide to move on out a way."

A Negro family moves, perhaps to an apartment two blocks beyond the previous boundary. They know they may find anomism, but they take a chance.

What happens? I interviewed five families who purchased homes in this fashion only two blocks of Chicago's West Side. All suffered violence. Typically, a week or more passed before hostilities began. Often a committee of neighbors asked them to leave, or offered to buy them out. One rejected a smoke bomb. Another had his house set on fire. Another had his garage burned, and the next night his car.

When initial violence fails to dislodge the neighbors, a long period of harassment sets in. It may be a series of threatening phone calls, or nightly broken windows. Some families are able to make a creative response and confront their tormentors and establish a *modus vivendi*. More typical is the attitude of another Negro family who have kicked out their front room, piled mat-

tresses and furniture against the walls to stop bullets or flying glass. They sit each night in darkness, waiting with a loaded shotgun for the attack they fear. Each backfire alarms them. They go off to work the following morning tense and exhausted.

Why Riots?

It may be helpful to classify violence as it seems to occur here. I speak of four main types. First, the attack against property. This is the most common of all types. Second, attacks against persons. Third, riots against property, involving a hysterical mob mostly bent on destruction of property or a symbol of a certain race. Fourth, riots against persons, involving a mass attack upon one group by another.

Some incidents become major riots and some do not. We do not know exactly why the difference exists, but several contributing factors usually are present before major riots. One is the existence of active, organized pro-segregation groups. These often begin as standard-setting associations of property owners which, when threatened by the bogey of falling property values, become genteel hate groups that we would call White Citizens Councils if they occurred in the South.

Another factor is the ability of the leaders of hate groups to tap the latent capacity for hostility of teenage gangs. A long dissertation on local politics in large cities would be necessary to show how this works. Briefly, there are sanctions or controls which keep potential delinquents in check—when the leaders of a community remove these sanctions relative to a specific target, violence occurs. Most racial violence is perpetrated by teenagers. This fact tells us more about the power structure of the city than it does about the failings of our youth. The businessman who belongs to a Protective Association might never engage in violence himself, but he actively makes it possible. A simple act of violence against property becomes a riot against property when some organized effort exists to bring together a large enough group of people, with latent racial prejudice in their background, to form a mob. Riots against property have to be organized; they rarely occur as a coincidental, spontaneous outbreak.

Riots against people are a somewhat different story. These too occur mostly near the edge of the ghetto. They are rarer than riots against property. There was only one major one in Chicago last year in which dozens were injured and many hospitalized. Very often a public facility is contested, such as a park or a swimming pool. An omnipresent factor is the local myth that a facility is a "white park" or a "white pool." A group of Negroes, often cut off from effective communication with whites, may use the facility and incur hostility. The threatened whites organize to drive out the invaders. In most situations where this sequence occurs, investigation shows an absence of active school instruction in civics and civil rights, and an absence of firm policies of equal access rights by the authorities. Following the main body of rioting in which one group battles another, a clustering of attacks against individuals is always recorded, usually within a week or two of the main incident.



Toward a Solution

The foregoing is barely a partial listing of some aspects of this dismal situation. A fuller account of the tragedies of segregation would have to include poor schools, poor health, the unrealized potential of individuals, the international implications. But the incidents of violence themselves are adequate cause for alarm. In such a situation one might expect to see signs of concern by authorities. The signs are very dim. Here are some things which could be provided immediately:

1. Strong leadership by city officials, condemning racial violence, and following through on prosecutions.
2. Replacement of police who do not enforce the laws.
3. Education against "white areas."
4. Enactment of new laws to begin to deal with basic problems, i.e., an FEPC law, an anti-discrimination housing bill.
5. More complete assignment of Negro police to problem areas.

A Note to Pacifists

Pacifists may find too many compromises in these proposed general solutions. It is right that we should seek a unique pacifist contribution here. But what?

Gandhi said that, "you can't defend an unjust cause with nonviolence." But in defending an unjust cause to try to make the expansion of the ghetto a peaceful operation. Dealing effectively with situations of violence is a necessity, but we continue to be patch-up work peripheral to the main problems. We are too few to influence these situations before they erupt, with any regularity, and the most we can usually do is work for reconciliation afterwards with all the patience and compassion we can muster.

We must therefore supplement our immediate work of reconciliation with other efforts aimed at long-term solutions. The pacifists' most significant contribution is that, knowing this, they become involved in the work for peace and justice in his community, cooperating where nonviolent means are possible.

community, cooperating where nonviolent means are possible.

In Chicago, and more in other Northern cities than most of us recognize, existing approaches have brought neither justice nor peace. There are places within existing action groups where a pacifist can give both clear and effective expression to his belief. I am convinced, however, that the greatest hope, and a better way, lies in the work of reconciliation which is always a person-to-person job. I do not rule out mass approaches. But in the North, we face a problem of a different nature than in the South. I know of no way to mount a mass movement of nonviolent protest like the Southern bus boycotts. For a movement to succeed, there must be a visible symbol to oppose, an opponent to meet with a simple act of nonviolent confrontation.

And where is our enemy? It is not in the urban slums where Northern Negroes

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 34)



Kierkegaard's Lessons for PACIFISTS

BY PAUL L. HOLMER

SÖREN KIERKEGAARD is one of Christendom's intellectual heroes. He was a prodigious, almost profligate writer—over thirty books and a huge journal of twenty volumes poured from his pen. A brief life of forty-two years (1813-1855), a university career as student for about ten years, a spirited attack upon him by a public yellow sheet, another attack, equally spirited, by him upon the established church, a broken engagement—these demarcate an otherwise uneventful life spent almost entirely in the service of reflection.

In our day Kierkegaard has become a fashionable figure. Theologians and philosophers, poets and novelists, lay and learned, espouse his claim upon human attention. Without any school of thought securing his fame in advance, for Kierkegaard is too many-sided to be a school-author, he has made his own way in the world of letters and thought. He bids fair to remain one of the signal figures with which men must reckon hereafter if they choose to think about ethical and religious matters.

It is altogether appropriate, therefore, that he be considered in the context of pacifism, too. Even though he did not discuss the specific moral phenomenon of pacifism, he did discuss issues closely related.

Kierkegaard was one of the moralists of recent history who decried making morals an empirical science. In a rather pedestrian sense, he was of course an empiricist. If anyone had asked him how men in fact *do* behave, Kierkegaard would surely have told him to seek a descriptive study of relevant behavior. He read widely in human history

and was, in this somewhat loose sense, a student of human behavior. Nor was he immune to the effects that such studies legitimately have upon judgments about the human potential for moral reformation. As with many students of morals and manners, Kierkegaard appreciated the difficulties of moral optimism concerning the race.

But when one turns to the foundational questions of the nature of ethical norms, to the properties of ethical judgment, to the nature of the good and the right, Kierkegaard clearly was not an empiricist. He saw that ethical norms do not derive from a study of behavior, and that ethics (and/or morals) is not a descriptive science at all. Men, he contended, are in fact in the position of having to construe the entire matrix of existence in the light of dispositions and wishes, hopes and loves. The native immediacy of people, the capacity for satisfaction and pleasure, which Kierkegaard calls the esthetic, is the stuff out of which morality and religion are made.

Without denying either an objective moral order or the objective existence of God, Kierkegaard emphasized that one does not find moral laws and duties, nor does one find God either, by increasing one's command of the objectivities. Moral and religious obligations are not a consequence of the increase of knowledge, nor are they facts to be encountered in a state of maximal disinterestedness.

Kierkegaard proposed that one remember again what it means to be a subject. Human persons are, according to his analysis, endowed with the capacity for "esthesia." Out of the encounter of the original and native or "esthetic" self with the objects

of the world comes the moral and religious life. Kierkegaard's three stages—the esthetic, the ethical, and the religious—are ways in which the self constitutes itself in a world of objects. His point is a relatively simple one: morality and religion are never solely expressions of the nature of things but are both an expression of the subject and an account of the objective world.

Kierkegaard thought no moral attitude was singularly objective. There was, as he saw it, no natural ethic, no completely objective and disinterested standard. All standards, be they esthetic, ethical or religious, were a reflection of a subject's relation to the objective world. Standards were of human origin and were not a part of the furniture of nature.

Kierkegaard's insistence here is important in respect to pacifism. To people who, like Tolstoy, argue that pacifism is a kind of natural ethic, Kierkegaard has given most severe criticism. At the first of the three stages of the self, Kierkegaard's own esthetes (for he created esthetic authors to state his views) could have been pacifists as well as Don Juans. For the esthete, Kierkegaard observes, ethical matters are simply a matter of preference. There are plenty of people who prefer peace to war, and that's the end of it. But if preference is all there is to it, there seem also to be those who prefer war, or at least the things which go with wars. Kierkegaard's point is that there are several ways to justify and to condemn any kind of projected behavior. One of the ways is that of the esthete. Esthetes can be pacifists because they detest war and decry its consequences.

Kierkegaard shows at the second stage how men can provide ethical reasons to justify or condemn behavior. With a well-developed sense of obligation, men can subordinate all of their preferences and the rest of their esthetic immediacy to whatever duty commands. The ethical man need

not argue his pacifism on the grounds of the satisfactions which accrue, but must instead argue its rightness in virtue of congruence to what duty demands. For authors have sketched so well as Kierkegaard the features of the ethical life. Everywhere he urges the strenuousness and seriousness of the ethical way of life on the grounds that a sense of duty commands all of one's inclinations, and hence can be commended for that very reason.

At the third stage, Kierkegaard notes that a religious conception of life is loose and compatible again with the phenomena of war and peace. In a sense, one could again justify and/or condemn all kinds of human behavior, including pacifism and war, by reference to religious standards. Kierkegaard's categories are sufficiently encompassing here to provide the same kind of superficial warrant—if this is what one is seeking.

What is important in the above is that Kierkegaard did not believe that moral decisions could be resolved finally by intellectual considerations. Such considerations are neutral, and this neutrality is evinced by the fact that various patterns of justification can be worked out for the same phenomenon, in this instance, pacifism. Where moral decisions are to be made, other considerations are necessary, and it is to these we now turn.

II

Kierkegaard knew that the pursuit of the absolute was a part of the intellectual tradition of Western life. Whether the absolute was conceived as God or as an unchanging law, it has seemed to be the great hope of philosophers and the aim of countless endeavors. Kierkegaard contended that talk about the absolute was usually a result of confusion of categories. For the assumption seems invariably to be that there is an invariant something, be it God or law, to which the intellect has access, and by which human conduct can be justified and vindicated. Thus, Christian pacifists have pled the will of God as revealed in the words of Jesus, and other moralists have discovered other invariant and necessary imperatives that secured the warrantability of moral maxims.

Kierkegaard, however, asserts that the absolute has not been discovered as an ob-

KIERKEGAARD IN PAPERBACKS

For further study, several of Kierkegaard's books are available in paperback editions: **The Attack Upon "Christendom"** (Beacon, \$1.60); **Edifying Discourses*** (Harper, \$1.45); **Fear and Trembling and The Sickness Unto Death** (Doubleday, 95c); and **Purity of Heart** (Harper, \$1.25).

* edited by Paul L. Holmer

active fact, and intellectualizing about it only confuses the real issue. Justification by reference to standards is really a relative matter. The absolutes are in fact objective—uncertain. One of the purposes of Kierkegaard's "three stages" doctrine is to indicate that by providing three equally adaptable patterns of justification, the intellect cannot actually disclose the absolute and invariant patterns.

But this is not all. Instead of worrying its way to a skepticism about moral and religious matters, Kierkegaard asks whether we cannot *choose* absolutely. The issue now is not one of finding the absolute disinterestedly but of making an interest absolute. The option open to men, in other

words, is one of being absolutely interested or over against being relatively interested. To say that one can be interested absolutely—even where the options are not decided disinterestedly is to note the fact that the great risk character-

izes all of the moral and religious life. Precisely because there is no justification in the light of the absolute, no absolute and objective vindication of a moral decision, there is still the need, nonetheless, for being absolutely and unremittingly interested.

The moral life and its energies, in Kierkegaard's view, get their exercise and warrant not exclusively in virtue of intellectual adequacy but rather in virtue of the adequacy with which they allow a man to conjugate the details of his daily life. To choose absolutely is possible—and maybe it is the road to God and virtue. On the other hand, to choose only the absolute, and to choose only when one is absolutely clear that it is the absolute, is to be doomed to an everlasting search and an equally persistent postponement of the moral life.

As far as I can tell, Kierkegaard's ethical theory everywhere suggests that pacifism is that kind of moral enthusiasm which may be distinguished by the fact that it is an enthusiasm which is absolute. I doubt whether he would find it comforting to see pacifism argued as an absolute principle in other terms. Kierkegaard would find

most of the talk about pacifism a tissue of inconsequential drivel—projections of if-then possibilities, persuasive discourse about money misspent for war which could have been spent for God-knows-what, speculations about what Jesus would say about Hitler killing the Jews, etc. Against all such moral theorizing, Kierkegaard would propose a study of the moral agent who wills peace absolutely. The onus of intellectual responsibility for the pacifist would fall upon the "how," *i.e.*, the moves within personality that make such a policy possible.

Instead of always looking for more policies by which to justify the policy of pacifism, Kierkegaard causes a man to look for those hidden and obscure dispositions

that help us form the moral decisiveness for which pacifism is a kind of principle. Instead of searching out the reasons for a moral belief which would vindicate it to the doubting world, Kierkegaard's inquiry is in the direction of

showing in magnificent detail what it means to choose absolutely—what it means to be a subject who is decisive, resilient, and yet morally tough amid the external exigencies of daily life.

It is surely commensurate with all that Kierkegaard has written to say that pacifism, as a mode of structuring the moral life, is its own best defense. Kierkegaard believed that men were looking not for objectivities but for the most satisfying kind of subjectivity and moral tonicity. His advice would be, therefore, that pacifism be urged upon men not as a principle to support with reasons but rather as a *way to be*. As a way to be, pacifism could well be described, delineated in detail, and contrasted with other ways of being, and this structuring of subjectivity might well be the best apologetic of all. Instead of the absolute being discovered, one would then see, instead, a representation of a subject choosing absolutely peace above all things.

III

But there is still another side to all of this. In this day of moral laxity, augmented



by orthodox and neo-orthodox theologies, it is unfashionable to entertain the strenuous requirements of Christian faith. All kinds of interests of our day have fed our moral latitudinarianism. Highly sophisticated concerns with religion and culture, Christ and history, have tended to dull our enthusiasm for those facets of Christian morality which are revolutionary and taxing. Having discovered that something relevant to Jesus is lurking everywhere, from Shakespeare to Faulkner, from factory to church, from art to science, we seem to have become blind to the drastically radical nature of Jesus' ethical demands. Faith has become a principled form of indulgence whereby we discern not only our own salvation but also the secret ways of God amid the welter of things. Kierkegaard saw the misuse of this faith-talk a century ago. He believed it was time to reemphasize works once again.

Kierkegaard would have had little use for those recent Biblical theologies which have assured us in advance that Jesus' commands were simply impossible anyway. Somehow in the name of orthodoxy and rediscovered orthodoxies, and because of sin and its indubitable extent, we are now assured that loving a neighbor has definite limits and that loving one's enemies is quite dangerous. So, with the help of the Bible and theology, our moral striving is easily diverted from the commands of Jesus to conformity to the culture in which we live. With religious cause, we are told that we cannot be what Jesus said we must be.

Whatever Kierkegaard had to say about anxiety and dread and other internal attributes, he never used his sophistication here to condone the circumventing of the commands of Jesus. For the prevailing theologies, religious seriousness seems to be a matter of (1) knowing what Jesus commanded, (2) knowing that you cannot do what He said, and then (3) making your religious suffering the regret about what you cannot do. Kierkegaard would surely disparage all of this. The suffering of which he spoke so eloquently was not a matter of dismay at not being able to try but rather the pain attendant upon trying. Faith for him was a work, an endeavor, a striving. He had slight use for the substitution of inward states, despite his acuity respecting

these, for the obedience demanded by Jesus.

As was indicated earlier, Kierkegaard makes it clear that to be a Christian is an optional matter, but nonetheless a serious one. To be a Christian means being interested in the historical existence of Jesus. To be a Christian means being interested as He was interested. Just as the Church has always said that His life was a passion so the Christian discovers that to believe in Him is to share His passions. And who can deny that His passion was for the enemies? How can one rule out the possibility of being pacifistic and loving towards all in virtue of Him?

Kierkegaard has not sought to vindicate Jesus' commands. Contrary to his own day and the dispositions of most authors, he did not believe the problem was one of proofs. He showed that the fundamental issue was how one should be as a man. Christianity proposes Jesus of Nazareth as the paradigm. But not this only, for to read about Jesus holds various possibilities. One must begin where one is, and relate oneself to Jesus from where one is. But surely latent in His existence and His words is the fact that love for enemies and peace towards all were commands. Whether one makes them normative for oneself, Kierkegaard leaves it each man to decide. But he denies that any individual has the right to intervene and rule out the possibility for any other individual. In this sense, he refuses to argue the case negatively or affirmatively. Instead he holds out the possibility as the mode in which will is judged absolutely is declared.

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION —▶

The following four pages (on tinted paper at right) comprise the Peace Information Edition of **Fellowship**, published on the 1st and 15th of every month. Subscribers receive three issues of this Edition separately between issues of the 36-page bimonthly edition.

Prospective subscribers, who formerly received three monthly issues of the old **Fellowship**, now receive instead four months (8 issues) of our Peace Information Edition only. We cordially invite you to send us the names of your friends for our prospect list of people who are becoming acquainted with **Fellowship** in this way.

PACIFISTS HURT, JAILED IN MISSILE BASE PROTEST

Two FOR members went to jail and one to the hospital in the aftermath of a pacifist "civil disobedience" protest against the building of a missile base near Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Ellanor Calkins and Theodore Olson, two of the participants, are serving 90-day sentences for trespass as a result of their refusal to pay \$100 fines. Mrs. Calkins' husband, Ken, went to the hospital with a suspected fractured pelvis after being hit by a truck whose entry he sought to block. He was discharged from the hospital a week later.

The incidents occurred as a climax to a protest campaign that had gone on in and around Cheyenne for almost two months. Initiated by Olson, a Baptist minister, and Art Springer, the campaign had met with virtually no response from Cheyenne citizens.

On August 18 Olson and the Calkins', who had come from Chicago to participate, penetrated the base with the announced intention of doing anything possible, nonviolently, to delay its construction. Before they were interrupted by Air Force Police, they had passed out leaflets and spoken to several workmen.

They were escorted out of the base by Air Force Police, but reentered a short while later. This time they refused to cooperate at all, and were confined for several hours in construction headquarters under guard. When they were released again outside the gate, the demonstrators tried for an hour and a half to obstruct the entry of trucks and equipment into the base by seating themselves on the road. Truck drivers and police removed them each time. The pacifists reported that many of the truck drivers were courteous and understanding, though one driver kicked and elaborated young Calkins.

The following day, however, a 12-ton truck-and-trailer, whose driver was heckled by bystanders who accused him of being "chicken," ran into Calkins,

"...A Moral Force "

I realize that my action will in all probability do little to impede the actual construction of the Cheyenne base at this time. Yet I feel it will serve as a powerful witness to the urgency of the situation and to the depth of my convictions. With Gandhi I believe that such an act, undertaken in the proper attitude and manner releases a moral force capable of touching the hearts of man more effectively than any other means... I have become convinced that direct action is the only way to reach the minds of men who have been morally benumbed by too many years of propaganda, fear and horror. I hope that my action will stir at least some of those who have so long remained silent to speak up and to act against what they know in their hearts is a hopeless and an immoral policy.

--from a statement by
Ken Calkins

who was caught between the front wheel and a grilled "cattle guard" in the road. When his wife screamed, the truck backed up, and the bystanders helped release him. County police then arrested the other participants and an ambulance took Calkins to the hospital.

(Continued on next page)

Fellowship

Box 271, Nyack, New York

ALFRED HASSLER, Editor

WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER, Managing Editor

FELLOWSHIP is published twice monthly. Re-entered as second-class matter January 1, 1958 at the Post Office at Nyack, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

Missile Base Protest (cont'd)

Ken Calkins, 23, is the son of the FOR's midwest secretary, Mrs. Dorothy Calkins.

The incident reportedly stirred pacifists and churchmen in the area, and as this issue of *Fellowship* went to press, several carloads of people were said to be en route to Cheyenne to join the demonstration.

A-Test Ban Likely As UN Report Aftermath

The government's long and crab-like approach to the banning of nuclear tests appeared to have reached its destination late in August with the Administration's announcement of a "temporary" end to testing.

Behind the decision lay the report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, and the successful parley of Communist and western scientists on the scientific possibilities of detecting violations of a ban. Continued resistance to the worldwide demand that tests be ended, it was obvious, would have had catastrophic political effects for the United States.

The UN committee's report, issued early in August after two years of work, confirmed assertions by test defenders that added doses of radiation from the tests are "very small," but added that "even the smallest amounts of radiation are liable to cause deleterious genetic, and perhaps also somatic, effects."

The committee did not advocate the ending of tests, contending that this

lay beyond its jurisdiction. It did, however, observe that knowledge of the possible genetic effects "emphasizes the responsibility of the present generation," that an increased mutation rate would probably lower the intelligence quotient and reduce the life span of the human race, and that once the genes have been altered, there is no changing them back.

The agreement by East-West scientists on an inspection system capable of policing a ban on the tests of nuclear weapons was reached after several weeks of non-political discussion in Geneva. Scientists participated from the United States, Britain, France, Canada, the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania.

Middle East Quiets; Chinese Coast Erupts

The world had barely had a chance to complete its sigh of relief over the sudden easing of tension in the Middle East when a furor of assaults by Communist China on the off-shore, Nationalist-held island of Quemoy drew in an anxious gaze.

Both events underlined the fact that world tension cannot be dealt with on a local or regional, crisis-by-crisis basis, any longer. Incident follows incident, growing out of a society in which inequality creates discontent. So long as the knowledge of what horrors general war would hold have kept the world from going over the brink, but that is an undependable safeguard. A policy based on a lively concern for all men and their well-being is the only course that promises real peace.

Reynolds Trial Set for Honolulu

The trial of Earle Reynolds, anthropologist whose family took up with their yacht *Phoenix* the Golden Rule attempt to penetrate the nuclear testing area in the Pacific, was scheduled to come to trial August 25 in Honolulu. A postponement seemed likely at the writing. The Reynolds' were stopped by the Coast Guard, and Mr. Reynolds arrested, after they had penetrated about 60 miles into the forbidden area.

NEWS from the peace front

William Bagwell, an FOR member, has been appointed by the American Friends Service Committee to direct a statewide race relations program in North Carolina. He has been president of the Council on Human Relations in Greenville, S.C.

Maclean's, a leading Canadian popular magazine, has published an article by Dr. J. S. Thomson, moderator of the United Church of Canada, entitled: "Canada Should Ban A-Arms Even If No One Else Will."

An article in the August 20 issue of *Christian Century* ("Do They Deserve to Be Free?" by Robert H. Sollen) points out that only a dozen of California's 35,000 churches refused to sign that state's loyalty oath. Of the three churches whose challenge to the oath was vindicated in the Supreme Court in June, one was the First Methodist of San Leandro, whose pastor is FOR Vice-Chairman Robert Moon.

J. Harold Sherk, executive secretary of the Peace Section of the Mennonite Central Committee, becomes executive secretary of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors this month.

A Fellowship member in Lahore, Pakistan, has sent clippings from the Pakistani newspapers reporting on the release from jail of the pacifist crew members of the *Golden Rule*.

The American Legion has given considerable publicity to recent pacifist activities in *Firing Line*, published by its National Americanism Commission. The July 15 issue is devoted to a report entitled "Pacifism on the March," and in characteristic fashion attempts to link the walks for peace, *Golden Rule* sailing, and other demonstrations with communism.

Ellamae Calvert, formerly FOR secretary in the Great Lakes Region, was married on August 20 to FOR-member George Fallon. Their home address is

39 Center Street, Machias, Maine.

Bert Bigelow, skipper of the *Golden Rule*, is writing a book about the little ketch's historic voyage.

The attempt by 18 plaintiffs from six countries to bring suit to halt nuclear testing lost its first battle in federal district court in Washington in July, when Judge Richmond B. Keach dismissed the suits. Plans are to appeal as far as the Supreme Court, as well as continuing efforts to sue in Britain, France and the Soviet Union. Sixteen Marshall Islanders, and three Japanese, including one of the Hiroshima Maidens, are among the plaintiffs in a parallel suit.



DON MURRAY, well-known moving-picture actor and conscientious objector, photographed as he narrated the text of the new CO movie "Alternatives." Picture, designed to provide draft age young people with information about alternative service, is being produced cooperatively by FOR and other peace groups. It is scheduled for release in October, in sound and color.

Fellowship-Inspired Article Features McCall's Magazine

More than a year ago, in June, 1957, one of the country's biggest magazines the *Saturday Evening Post*, began a series of articles entitled "The Deep South Says Never!". The burden of the report, by John Bartlow Martin, was that opposition to integration had so complete a hold over the Deep South that there could be no hope of breaking down segregation within the foreseeable future.

The report did not fit with the experiences of FOR staff members who had been working in the South. The editors of *Fellowship* set out to show the other side of the story, which appeared in the September, 1957 issue under the title "There is Another South."

Fellowship's circulation is roughly one-500th that of the *Post*, but at least one copy reached the editors of another mass-circulation magazine. They assigned writer William Peters to see whether this "other South" really did exist, and Mr. Peters set out on an extensive trip armed, among other things, with a list of the FOR's contacts in that section.

The result is the tremendously encouraging "The Story Nobody Tells You," in the September issue of 4-million-plus circulation *McCall's*. In a month when school openings are likely to spread gloom among integrationists generally, it will make good reading. We commend it to you.

Japan Marchers Collect 35 Million Signatures

"Peace marchers" in Japan walked 1,000 kilometres to Hiroshima last month collected 35 million signatures to anti-H-bomb petitions, reports Rev. Robert Moon, FOR national vice-chairman, from Tokyo. Mr. Moon represented the American FOR at the Christian Anti-War Meeting on August 14, and the Japan Council Against A and H-Bomb Conference the following week. He, Miss Marion Kline, another AFOR representative, and IFOR secretary Andre Trocme spoke at both conferences. Eighteen nations were represented at the August 14 meeting.

DATES TO REMEMBER

Sep. 13. Bucks County World Peace Fair, George School Campus, Route 413, Newtown, Pa.

Sep. 16. FOR National Executive Committee Meeting, Sloane House YMCA, New York. 6 p.m.

Sep. 19-21. FOR National Conference for Southwest. Vermont Square Methodist Church, 4410 Budlong, Los Angeles, Calif.

Oct. 3-5. FOR National Conference for Northern California. San Francisco (location to be announced).

Oct. 24-25. FOR National Conference for Midwest. Place to be announced.

"The Story Nobody Tells..."

"These white southerners have aligned themselves with the new, young and intelligent southern Negro leadership which is rapidly remaking the South. The question of how long it will take is that of the outside observer, for time is the one thing which inevitably runs in these workers' favor....

"In any case, the movement has begun, and it is propelled by forces which, having their roots in history, cannot be turned aside. It is even possible, as one southerner speculates, that fifty years from now the South will have moved further toward equality for the Negro than the North. For, as he puts it, 'with the backlog of guilt for its past treatment of the Negro, the South, once it begins to move, may build up a momentum which carries it far past the North. After all, where can you find a more aggressive worker for any cause than a recent convert?'"

--William Peters, in *McCall's*



New Hope for SOUTH WEST AFRICA

BY WINIFRED F. COURTNEY

SOUTH AFRICA's *apartheid* (segregation) legislation has been much publicized. What is less well-known is the fact that in 1920, when it was granted the role of Mandatory Power over the former German colony of South West Africa, the Union of South Africa has virtually *annexed* its mandate, and has applied the rigors of *apartheid* with full force in this technically international territory.

What does it mean in 1958 to be one of these African "international" wards in South West Africa?

The African must live in one of the "sterile reserves"—in which he has no inalienable rights to tenure—or in a "location" (ghetto) in a town. He is subject to the South African pass system: to be caught without a pass outside his prescribed area means jail. He will usually be granted a pass only to work on European farms or mines. He may not take his family to his place of work, probably many miles away. Since living on the reserves is too poor for their menfolk the reserves are peopled with women and children awaiting the meagre pittance from outside.) At Tsumeb, for instance, he will sleep in a "moderate" compound twelve to a room, on a concrete bunk softened by a half-inch of

He has no freely elected political representation, and his "affairs" are newly (1955) under the jurisdiction of the kindly Dr. F. Verwoerd, Union Minister of Native Affairs. On the local level, councils of his chiefs have "advisory" functions only and exercise little if any influence on local administration.

Less than one-third of South West African non-white children receive any educa-

tion at all. (Education for whites is compulsory.) There are two high schools for non-whites in the whole territory, and no institutions of higher learning.

Tuberculosis is rife, but twice the sum spent on African hospitals is spent for those of the white 11% of the population.

Labor conditions are determined by the aptly titled "Masters and Servants Proclamation" of 1920, or the "Control and Treatment of Natives on Mines Proclamation" of 1917. Nowhere is the African anything but a servant in his relation with whites. He has no trade unions; he is forbidden to learn skilled work. The slightly more skilled *white* mineworker earns as much as five times the African's average salary plus cost-of-living bonus and adequate housing for his family at bargain rates.

When the Germans claimed South West Africa in 1884 they embarked on a ruthless campaign of cruelty and terror calculated to incite the Herero tribe to revolt, so that there might be an excuse to get rid of these unsubmissive tribesmen in great numbers. In the ensuing carnage at the turn of the century the Hereros were decimated. One group fled to Bechuanaland under Paramount Chief Frederick Mahareru. Others, unable to escape, stayed in SWA under Chief Hosea Kutako.

Promises that much would be done in return for Herero help to the Allies in World War I resulted only in heartbreaking disillusion under the South Africans in the 1920s. For over two decades, the inhabitants of South West Africa took this treatment by the Union of South Africa without hope. Finally, in 1946, when formal annexation threatened, Chief Fred-

erick in Bechuanaland called upon the Rev. Michael Scott to take the case of his people to the United Nations.

Michael Scott had already won for himself the proud status of arch-villain in Premier Malan's book within South Africa. An earnest and courageous Christian and a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, he had exposed conditions in farm prisons, had stood with Indians against a mob in a passive resistance demonstration which cost him three months in jail, and had incurred a suspended sentence for "living in a native area" while trying to clean up unspeakable conditions in a shanty town. He had, too, begun to challenge the conscience of South Africa on racial matters in sermons and speeches which were reaching the outside world.

From Chief Frederick, Scott went to Hosea, and with the old man's blessing left on a journey beset with difficulties. In 1949, after three years of trying, Scott finally won a personal hearing from the UN's Trusteeship Committee. Resolutions have since been passed year after year deploring the fact that conditions for Africans have so little improved, and urging that SWA be brought under Trusteeship.

But little has been accomplished, since the western powers have been unwilling, for reasons strategic or otherwise, to exert concerted pressure. In 1950 Scott achieved a ruling from the International Court that, while South Africa was not obliged to make SWA a Trust Territory, it *was* obliged to maintain SWA's international status, and to carry out the provisions of the Mandate. The Union proved deaf to this ruling, and in 1952 permanently banished Scott from both the Union and SWA.

Upon news of his banishment, the delegates of forty nations voted Scott their official thanks for his efforts—an unprecedented tribute. Another year Ralph Bunche cabled Chief Hosea to come in person and speak for his people. South Africa, as always, refused him a passport. The South Africans frequently walked out of UN sessions, and at present maintain only

token representation in the international body.

In 1957 Scott asked UN members to suspend compulsory jurisdiction from the International Court as to whether South Africa, in her steps toward annexation, had not in fact, violated the Mandate. But delegates produced instead a proposal for a Good Offices Committee which, as passed by the General Assembly, provides for negotiations as to "the basis for a settlement" by a three-nation body to consist of the United States, Britain and Brazil. This move, which it was hinted in debate would have the cooperation of South Africa, was strongly supported by the two major powers.

On the Good Offices Committee sit Walter N. Walmsley of the United States, a career diplomat and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State; Vasco T. Leita da Costa, Brazilian Ambassador to Cuba; and Charles Arden-Clarke of Britain, who, as Governor handed independence to Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana in 1957.

In April a group of concerned organizations led by George M. Houser of the American Committee on Africa visited Washington and urged that our Government take a reasonably firm attitude



the following lines: (1) in permitting compromise with South Africa on the question of ultimate UN Trusteeship; (2) in urging South Africa to allow a UN Mission to investigate conditions on the spot; (3) in pointing out to South Africa the advantages of requesting aid from UN Specialized Agencies (UNICEF, WHO, etc.) to improve conditions for the whole population of South West Africa.

In an unusual move by South Africa, Good Offices Committee were invited to June 1, 1958, to hold their sessions in Pretoria, South Africa, from June 12 on. On June 21 the Union Government and the Committee issued a joint communiqué:

"During the past week, a full exchange of views has taken place between the United Nations Good Offices Committee . . . and representatives of the Union Government. In the course of the discussion

ich covered a wide field, consideration
s given to the possible ways and means
arriving at a satisfactory arrangement
regard to the South West Africa issue.
ertain aspects will require further study.
. By agreement the exchange of views
at has taken place up to date will be
ated as confidential pending publica-
n of the Committee's report [to the
xt session of the UN General Assembly]."
What happened at Pretoria? Another de-
in a long series of evasions? Or a prom-
ng start on concessions by the Union?
uth West Africa usually comes up for
nmittee debate early in the UN Assem-
y, and Americans, whose government has

now assumed a special role, should be
watching developments in September or
October with close concern.

A wholesale change of heart on the part
of the Union is perhaps too much to ex-
pect. But she has now played host to a
UN group *on South African soil*. There is
room at least for the hope that, isolated
on a continent changing at breakneck pace
around her, South Africa may at last wake
up to the peril of not meeting the challenge
at least part way.*

* Those interested in learning more about South West
Africa will find helpful the UN 1957 "Report of the
Committee on SWA" (Docs. A/3625-6); the pam-
phlet by Michael Scott, "The Orphans' Heritage,"
available from the ACOA, 4 West 40th Street, N. Y.
18, N. Y.; and Mr. Scott's autobiography, *A Time to
Speak*, just published by Doubleday.

ROCKET

Cold.
Inanimate.
Icicle-shaped.
Primed and pointed
For the flight
From anywhere
Into nowhere.
Awaiting the count
Before curious eyes. . . .

For this day did
Socrates drink?
Did Bacon dream,
Did Newton think?
For this moment
Did man's quick mind
Wring the earth's riches,
Chart its quiet poles?
For this, for this,
Did proud science
Search and strive?

The count is done . . .
On pillars of flame
Cold steel trembles,
Then sunward bursts.
Meanwhile . . .
Before curious eyes
The divinity in man
Bites the dust.

—LEO HAMALIAN

THE MINISTRY OF *Reconciliation*

BY JOHN R. YUNGBLUT



"God . . . hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation"
II Cor. 5:18

*Take from our souls the strain and stress
And let our ordered lives confess
The beauty of thy peace.*

OUR LIVES ARE characterized by much division and double-mindedness. We are not one but many selves, all of them at conflict with each other. Nevertheless, when we come to ourselves, we long to be united within, to get all of these selves together around our best self, to experience an interior unity and harmony. Vaguely we realize that it is our interior scatteredness that is responsible for our ineffectiveness as individuals, our uneasiness, our unhappiness.

Meantime we continue to be pulled in many directions by the demands of our complex world. And the confusion we experience within we attribute to external conditions, now to one cause, now to another. It seems to us that the trouble lies with this or that economic, social or political condition or that a particular set of circumstances, our ill-fortune, is responsible for our interior disunity. Perhaps we attach blame to individuals in order to absolve ourselves. But underneath there is the haunting suspicion that the real source of our difficulty lies within. We would not for the world confess this to others and are scarcely ready to confess it to ourselves. But before the manifold relationships of life can be put right, we must set in order the primary relationship, the one which we as individuals bear to ourselves before God. We must first win and maintain the "unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." Whittier voices our prayer:

*Drop thy still dews of quietness
Till all our strivings cease.*

But the achievement of integration within is not to be conceived as an end in itself. It is a means to what has been called chief end of man: "To glorify God and enjoy Him forever." We are to attain unity within in order that we may be united with God to serve his will in the further integration of his universe. We are called the "ministry of reconciliation." "God has reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation."

We have often reminded ourselves of some of the fundamental principles of true religion, the inherent priesthood of all believers. But we have thought of this potential ministry largely in negative terms, consisting on our prerogative of direct access to God without the mediation of others. This is profoundly true; but the priesthood of all believers must be expressed in an active, positive, vital ministry, a ministry of reconciliation. This ministry begins within and is then extended to those about us and ultimately to our world. It is with this ministry, your ministry as a believer, that this meditation is concerned.

Consider now how you are to exercise this ministry among those with whom your life is brought into close contact. In the midst of daily living, what opportunities vouchsafed you for the performance of it? How shall you do this work to which God has called you? We shall distinguish between three phases of the ministry: reconciliation of individuals with the

ves, with other individuals, and with d.

Reconciliation Within Individuals

In the first place you will exercise this ministry by helping others to be reconciled to themselves. Here you will need a heightened sensitivity, an unfailing patience, a deep and abiding compassion. You will need to develop your capacity for empathy and the capacity to project yourself vicariously into the position of another so that you share the other's joys and sorrows, see the other's problems from his point of view, experience his aspirations and his discouragements. You recall the pathetic plea of Emily in Thornton Wilder's *Our Town*: "Oh, Mommy, please look at me just once if you really saw me." This is the unspoken reproach of many with whom we meet every day. Ministers of reconciliation learn to look at individuals as if they really could see them—because that is precisely what they long most to do—to see them as they see themselves—from within—insofar as this is possible for another.

In the performance of this ministry we will win a new insight into what our Lord meant by the injunction that we are to love our neighbors as ourselves. In what sense as Christians may we dare to love ourselves? When we come to ourselves and are reconciled to ourselves we are to love ourselves for exactly the same reason that God loves us, namely because of the unique individuality which he has created in us. Thus we come to love for his sake, rather than our own, because it is precious to him. To maintain this individuality in its integrity becomes our first obligation as individuals.

Now observe that we are to love others precisely as we love ourselves. We are to discover beneath all the outer veneer and expectation the unique individuality which is theirs. We are to love in them what God loves, the soul which in some strange way is different from all other souls which he has ever created. We are to be conscious of his eternal soul in the loneliness of its grimace—this soul which in the mystery of God's providence at this moment within me encounters my soul. We are to grow to a feeling of reverence for all men and women, despite the besetting sins and per-

sistent failures which are characteristic of us all, everyone has an ultimate dignity, the dignity bestowed upon him by God when he created his eternal soul.

The deepest need of this other soul is also my deepest need: to move in the direction of the fulfillment of the individuality, the very purpose for which God has created him. To use men as means to our own selfish ends will seem increasingly to us a terrible blasphemy. We are to treat all men as ends in themselves, disciplining ourselves always to recollect that God has for each some special plan which is the end for which he has created him. This recognition will provide the basis of our respect and concern for all men as individuals.

But what, we may ask, of the many individuals who have no apparent consciousness of God's will for them nor any awareness of this need to integrate their lives? They may have lost their way or may never even have sensed that there is a "way" for them. I know that it is very hard to see in some men an individual soul wanting fulfillment. Yet it is for this which we are to look indefatigably in each person, reminding ourselves that God's love for him never fails. We may not be able to reach an individual on this level. Our Lord himself did not succeed in reconciling Judas to himself. But observe that he never abandoned Judas, and that personally he took enormous risks to help him win that inner victory.

It is so easy to respect and admire this integrity of individuality which we have known in some great souls—so very hard to help bring it into being in those who either are unattractive or indeed actually repel us. I remember a wise teacher of mine telling his class that the only reason we could not help some individuals is because we could not bring ourselves to love them enough—what a condemnation! There are those we meet in life whom we might help if we could only learn to care for them a little more as individuals.

Whether we are conscious of it or not we all crave appreciation. More than life itself you and I want to be understood and loved, for we know that we "do not live by bread alone." Life without the response and affection of others is worse than death.

And I suppose that God has put into us this deep longing to be understood and appreciated because it is the only way that this unique individuality within us can develop and grow, that is, in response to others who understand and care.

Therefore this ministry of reconciliation is to be realized by keeping one's self constantly alert to the selfhood of another, sensitive to the basic individuality in him which is seeking expression. What is this other soul, over against me, in process of becoming? What, but for the discouragements and distractions which beset him, might he be? My responsibility is to try to understand and then to encourage what is best in him. A mere gesture of courtesy and respect at the proper moment can be of untold value to a distraught soul. Oscar Wilde says somewhere that he was once lifted out of deepest despair because someone tipped his hat to him on the street and thereby unconsciously restored his self-respect. Looking back on our own lives we could all report times when we have been helped to find our way by the timely understanding and encouragement of a friend. A great physician, Dr. Trudeau, set for himself a standard which ministers of reconciliation who aspire to be physicians of the soul might well make their own. "To cure sometimes, to relieve often, to comfort always."

It is said of our Lord that "he needed not that any should testify of man to him, for he knew what was in man." Indeed he understood men better than they understood themselves. Intuitively he saw in them the hidden aspirations and helped to bring them to fruition. Long before Peter was aware of his own inner resources, Christ saw in him the "rock-man." And from one of the "sons of thunder" he drew forth the gentleness and serenity of the Apostle John. Out of the dissipated energies and erratic affections of Mary Magdalene he elicited a steady and unflagging devotion. So his ministry of reconciliation operated to pull fragmentary lives together and send them forth reoriented, reclaimed, reunited. His favorite word to the sick in spirit was this: "Thou shalt be made whole." To assist another toward the realization of wholeness—that is the ministry of reconciliation.

Our first point then is that a man must be reconciled to himself. But there is also the work of reconciliation between man and man. One of the Epistles of John says bluntly: "He that saith he is in the light and hateth his brother, is in darkness." The Sermon on the Mount makes clear the importance of reconciliation between man and man: "If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave thy gift before the altar and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." Not only are we to "avoid contentions and strivings," Paul counseled Titus, but we are to engage actively in reconciling individuals to each other.

What a motley crowd the disciples were! Yet somehow they learned from the Master how to get along in harmony with each other. He enabled the disciples not only to recognize and develop the best in themselves but to understand and help each other. He encouraged in them the spirit of forbearance and of cooperation. Out of this relationship one to another grew the *koinonia*, the fellowship which was the foundation of the Christian Church. He succeeded not only in reconciling individuals to themselves but to each other as well.

How is this service for men to be performed? It must be done quietly, unobtrusively, so that others are not even aware that it is going on. You have experienced the process, though the actual mechanism are enshrouded in mystery. You have seen two individuals at swords' points, tense, their mutual antagonism. And you have seen the antagonism miraculously dissolved by the mediation of another who has apparently done nothing; his presence alone seems to work a spell on them. There are individuals who have this wonderful capacity to reconcile. Partly it is that the two who are at enmity suddenly find common ground in mutual admiration of him. But it is more than that. The mediator has well understood what each is striving for, what is the actual source of the misunderstanding and conflict, that he is in a position to interpret each to the other as

ance to heal the wounded pride on either side. So the minister of reconciliation is a kind of catalytic agent whose very presence makes possible a mutual understanding. You have known mothers who could do no good for their children. Still more beautiful, you have known children who could do no good for their parents. And all of us have experienced the way in which a private or public meeting, rapidly deteriorating into an impasse of opposing factions, can be healed by one minister of reconciliation.

You are called to be a minister. If you will respond to your Lord's commission in this kind of ministry, you will be surprised how frequently in daily life you will be provided with an opportunity to perform the sacrament of reunion. You will become oblivious to gossip, impervious to the sharp tongue, so that scandal will meet you a stone wall. You will learn how to absorb invective without returning it in kind. At the same time you will develop a minister's eye for the right occasion for a timely word of commendation and the opportunity to interpret someone to another in his absence without entering into the quarrel. The exact balance between a deep and genuine concern within and a quiet detachment, free of emotional involvement, will presently characterize your relations with others. If you will consecrate yourself for this ministry you will learn how to establish even among those who tend to clash with each other a "unity of the spirit and the bond of peace."

Between Man and God

Finally, this ministry calls upon you to conciliate men to God. This phase of the work cannot be distinguished altogether from the responsibility of reconciling men to themselves and to each other, for to do either is to reconcile men to God. Yet we

must remember that those relationships to oneself and to others have meaning and value only because of the ultimate relationship to God. You will experience a natural reticence in speaking of God to others. You are not called upon to wear your religion upon your sleeve. But opportunities for personal testimony and direct evangelism do arise. The minister of reconciliation becomes

sensitive to the receptivity of others. He knows that an ill-timed and injudicious defense of the gospel can repel rather than attract; but an opportunity missed is a still more grievous failure.



A simple witness on the part of a layman of the power of God through the Holy Spirit as he has experienced it in his own life can do more than many sermons to draw another to God. When we were baptized we were signed with the sign of the cross as the pastor said, "in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified." How few of us live up to that vocation! How often our very silence betrays him whom we would serve! How often we have merited his word, "He who is not for me is against me!"

But effective as may be the spoken word at the psychological moment, of still greater significance is the silent witness of a life lived close to God. It is said of some of the followers of Jesus in the New Testament that men took knowledge of them that they had been with Christ. Would God that word might be said of us! Men saw in the face of Jesus Christ the light which gave them knowledge of the glory of God. Jesus could say, "He that hath seen me hath seen the father." We are to live so close to the Master that we are to reveal something of his spirit in the power of our lives. So shall we become Ministers of Reconciliation.



Nonviolence and Social Order

WHAT IS THE NATURE and role of law, police, courts and the whole institution of government? Until there is clarity on this there can be no statesmanship of nonviolence, in the Gandhian sense.

The practitioner of nonviolence does not desire to make use of law, police and courts for himself, even though this is his right. Yet he cannot demand that others forego the use of those institutions. His neighbors have a full right to establish an ordered system of universal reciprocity. The one practicing even a minimum of love and self-sacrifice will recognize that he should never under any circumstances act unjustly or inequitably toward his neighbor. Therefore he will respect the institution of government which his neighbor has established for the realization of that ideal. If he is living effectively the life of love he may not put many of his talents directly into establishing or maintaining a social contract system. The proper use of his talents is to lead men to relationships which are more creative. He thereby lays the ground which makes the ideal of equity and justice more easily attained; and he certainly will not endeavor to undermine this high ideal to which his neighbor has devoted himself.

Civil disobedience against unjust and immoral laws, against corrupt courts, or against arbitrary and cruel exercise of police power does not undermine just government. It helps to establish the ideal if it is true civil disobedience carried out in a spirit of nonviolence. The insights of Mahatma Gandhi are especially applicable here. He wrote: "A satyagrahi sometimes appears momentarily to disobey laws and the constituted authority only to prove in the end his regard for both." And again: "Those only can take up civil disobedience, who believe in willing obedience even to irksome laws imposed by the State so long

as they do not hurt their conscience or religion, and are prepared equally willingly to suffer the penalty of civil disobedience.

Gandhi had the vision and the attitude of positive statesmanship, even though in the Indian situation that attitude toward government was not so crucially essential as it is in the American situation. In Gandhi's case the people were solidly with him against a foreign power; in the case of the advocate of civil disobedience in America the people are not solidly, or even in numbers, with him. It becomes doubly important that there be clarity concerning the people's institution of government and what our relationship to that ideal of government is.

Nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience that contains any spirit of harassment of officials or undermining of government, as such, has no future in America and does not deserve any future. The people—our neighbors—rightly perceive that such an attitude and spirit put into action is opposed to them.

The Negative Leaven

There are in the radical pacifist movement in America a few people who have a manifestly psychotic condition with reference to law, police, courts and jails. It is an attitude of animosity to all aspects of government, and an unwillingness to grant that anyone has any right to establish a system of equity and justice and ask that others abide by it under sanction of law.

There is also among American pacifists a rather large percentage of people who have an underlying bitterness against authority—even the authority represented by the rights of neighbors. The action of the small psychotic minority speaks to the deeply submerged resentment in the large group. Because of this the minority leaven

the whole lump with a negativism and blinds the vision of many pacifists to positive nonviolent statesmanship.

Surface manifestations of this negativism often show themselves in the practice of going limp when arrested, refusal to communicate with police and court officials, outright harassment of police and jail officials, etc. (This is not to contend that every instance of noncooperation with enforcement officers and courts is motivated by resentment and harassment. In cases of police brutality there may be no alternative but an absolute refusal to cooperate. But limps can have meaning only as it is motivated by the deepest spirit of love.) It is the less manifest attitudes of negativism, however, that poison the springs of love and initiative in peacemaking. Too many pacifists struggle along sniping ineffectively at militarism, cultivating persecution complexes, and breaking the bond which might join them in a program of positive statesmanship with their non-pacifist neighbor.

The Radical Responsibility

Our advocacy of the way of nonviolence imposes upon us the responsibility of practicing it within the context of the political situation in which we are cast with our neighbors. We hope to lead our neighbor to give inner consent to the organic intent of creation—love and self-sacrifice by the people, of the people and for the people. We deserve and will receive only contempt from our neighbor if we try to force this ideal upon the outside by undermining the ideal of government by which men have sought to order their lives in fair play toward their neighbor. Until men give inner consent to rule by love and self-sacrifice every deterioration of the ideal of democratic government can lead only to tyranny.

Radical pacifists have talked much of inner transformation. We have not opened our inner eyes to see the true nature of deep resentment against democratic government, because we have considered that virtue. We can no longer avoid looking at the inner recesses of our hearts. Negative reaction to the cult of violence can only lead to more violence. There is something better than that in us, and this new age deserves our best.

—LAWRENCE SCOTT

MEMO

TO: FELLOWSHIP READERS

FROM: BILL MILLER

Soft Sell—In the trade, they call paperback books “soft covers.” Don’t ask me why, because the covers on ours are as sturdy as the day is long. Sales vary, however. *Christians in the Arena* has outsold *The Dagger and the Cross* by fifteen to one so far. Of course many who bought *Christians* already had “hardbound” copies of *Dagger*, and we expect this soft cover to be a soft sell—unless our more evangelistic readers decide to buy large numbers of it for gifts to theologically needy ministers (hint! hint!).

Hard Sell—On the other hand, there are quite a few “hardbound” books on our shelves that have been gathering more dust than shekels recently, probably because we have been too busy blabbing about the new to give the old any decent publicity. The prices may be excessively low, but I hope that won’t stop you: *The Politics of Repentance*, by André Trocmé, 75c; *François de Fénelon* by Katherine Day Little, \$1; *Satyagraha* by R. R. Diwakar, 65c. We’ll send you all three for two dollars—stop laughing, it’s true!

Medium Sell—We also have some pamphlets that have not gathered any dust but just haven’t been bruit-ed about. Covers are neither hard nor soft, but what we call “self”—you figure it out. Prices are also neither hard nor soft, but just right. *Atomic Tests and Disarmament*, 10c; *Cells for Peace* by Douglas V. Steere, 10c; *Peace or War* by Roy van Deman, 5c; *Perspective on Non-violence*, 25c.

Buy all you can, and peace be with you!

FELLOWSHIP
PUBLICATIONS
Nyack, New York



BOOKS

A Scientist's View of Peace

NO MORE WAR! by Linus Pauling. Dodd, Mead, 1958. 254 pp., \$3.50.

"I believe that there will never again be a great world war," says Nobel Prizewinner Linus Pauling, "if only the people of the United States and of the rest of the world can be informed in time about the present world situation."

These are the opening words of a book which gives a readable summary of all the known scientific facts about nuclear weapons and what their testing and use is doing or could do to present and future generations of mankind.

The picture that emerges is an alarming one. If facts alone were sufficient to convince people, the wide reading of this book would be virtually a guarantee against any further war, at least on a world scale. "The time has come," says Pauling, "for man's intellect to win out over the brutality, the insanity of war."

This note of reasoned optimism goes through the whole book. One cannot help thinking back to an earlier time, when Alfred Nobel believed that his invention of dynamite would deter mankind from killing because of its powerful destructiveness. Yet the nuclear devices that are being tested by our government today are literally millions of times as destructive as Nobel's "too horrible" dynamite. Pauling at least implicitly acknowledges the shortcomings of his reasoned argument, however, and strikes a needed existential note when he says, after discussing the need for international agreements to ban the bomb, "Even if it were possible (which it is not) to purchase security for the United States of America by killing all of the hundreds of millions of people behind the Iron Curtain without doing any harm to anyone else, I would not be willing that it be done." Over against "the evil power of military force," Pauling sets a "greater power," which he conceives to be the power of the human spirit, a power of humanitarian morality. His ultimate plea is in effect a prayer, though Pauling would surely not call it that: "May our great Nation . . . be the leader in bringing *morality* into its

proper place of prime importance in the conduct of world affairs!"

As a sequel to the attainment of an international settlement from this moral perspective, Pauling envisages the formation of a World Peace Research Organization modeled after Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study, with a staff of 10,000 specialists and an annual budget of \$100,000, which would "make suggestions about international problems . . . that would lead to a significant decrease in the armaments budget." Such a visionary scheme seems modest enough, when one considers that the United States alone spends five hundred times that amount each year for military purposes.

Whether Linus Pauling's appeal for sanity and goodness is heeded by those in power or not, *No More War!* deserves a place on every pacifist bookshelf, for it does not provide a clinching answer to the problem of nuclear annihilation, it presents information and poses questions that will be of inestimable value in the continuing struggle for peace.

—W.R.



The Rise and Fall of American Stalinism

THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY: A CRITICAL HISTORY (1919-1957) by Irving Howe and Lewis Coser. Beacon, 1958. 593 pp., \$6.75.

The recent post-Khrushchev defections have decimated the Community Party in U.S.A., and brought the history of a once influential political instrument virtually to a standstill. This being so, it is ironic and yet appropriate that a comprehensive history of it should appear at this time. Were it not for the continued power of the Moscow mentors, the die-hard orthodox faction—the "hard core"—of 3,000 remaining CPers might be written off and, besides other leftist splinter groups as historical curiosities.

The lull has provided a breathing-space for polemicists and afforded a good opportunity for an objective account. Howe's and Coser's is not only objective but knowledgeable, and the documentation on which it is based has had life and wit breathed into it by two men who together combine formidable resources of societal analysis and

er literacy, a boon to a subject so spe-
cized and diffuse.

The authors are neo-Marxist in outlook
and have both had the experience of grow-
ing up in and out of the currents of sectar-
ism that have eddied forth from the
Russian Revolution and its American im-
itators. The book is remarkably free of
bias that might be expected in this
background, while it benefits from the in-
sights that only personal involvement can
ord. These insights, particularly as they
affect the concluding chapter, "Toward a
theory of Stalinism," have value not only
for the understanding of the moribund
American CP, but of Communism as a fac-
tor in the world. There is no book cur-
rently available which covers the same
ground so thoroughly and, considering its
length, so compactly.

—W.R.M.



Hand and Spirit in Modern Life

WORK AND CONTEMPLATION by Douglas V.
Steere. Harper, 1957. 160 pp., \$2.

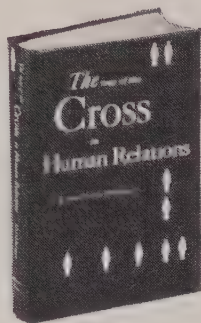
Proper mastery of this book involves both
the procedures named in its title. As usual,
Douglas Steere strikes deep, resonant chords
and lines out a somber melody—while also
creating such rich illustrative harmonies and
nuances that many a reader may move
beyond the book just for the illustrations
and side-insights. Yet the whole argument
awaits for so revolutionary a shift in our
modern appreciation of work, and so dedi-
cated a practice of contemplation, that it
challenges both comprehension and cour-
age with its message.

The broad claim, as we should expect,
that either work or contemplation is
 barren and fruitless without the other.
Whether work, as such, is a school of life
or a school of death for man" depends
on the framework of meaning into which
it is cast. By the same token, contemplation
as defined by Aquinas as "a simple, unim-
agined and penetrating gaze on truth") is
possible only for the person who knows
the pain and ecstasy of work, manual
work with the whole mind and
body and emotion. Professor Steere traces
this through Ruskin, William Morris, Marx,
and Gill, and other resisters of industrial

THE WAY OF THE CROSS IN HUMAN RELATIONS

by Guy F. Hershberger

THE BIBLE BASIS
FOR NON-RESISTANCE



Here is a book
bold enough to
examine Christian
practices in ap-
plying Christian-
ity to everyday
living. It is Mi-
cah's message for
today's Christian.
"He hath showed
thee, O Man,
what is good: and
what doth the

Lord require of thee but to do justly,
and to love mercy, and to walk hum-
bly with thy God?"

What are a Christian's responsibilities
in labor relations, race relations and
social injustices? How can a Christian
live a life of peace and non-resistance
in today's society? These questions are
answered in theory and practice.
\$5.50.

AT YOUR BOOKSTORE OR
HERALD PRESS

DEPT. F, SCOTTDALE, PA.

"Fifty Years of Christian Literature Service"

depersonalization the decline of meaning
in daily toil. He looks at the vanished glory
of manual work in such intentional com-
munities as the original Benedictines—a
backward look which may place a certain
nostalgic halo on monastic orders.

Can our industrial world ever again re-
gain the craftsman's pride and the farmer's
simple piety? Does such contemplation as
Douglas Steere commends take us sooner
or later out of our involvement with the
millions of workers in a sensate culture,
into some sort of monastic upper-air? We
ruefully realize that it is precisely people
who have enough subtlety and philosophic
insight to understand this book, who don't
need to read it.

In our regard for work, we pass through
a stage of not realizing that it is disagree-

The most important thing in the world.
Find its supreme value to you in

ONE PEARL OF GREAT PRICE

The story of what might have happened to the rich young ruler after he turned away from Jesus: lovers you can respect, who, before the climax of the book during the destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman Legions, discover, in the now almost forgotten religion of the first Christians, the secret of conjugal love and the answer to the mystery of life.

—A NOVEL by W. F. Luder, a member of the FOR—

A beautiful book of 1100 pages you will treasure forever, it stresses the pacifism of the early church. Therefore, it makes an ideal gift for all your friends. Only \$4.84, at your bookseller, or postpaid from

FARNSWORTH BOOKS

112 Wetherbee Boston 54, Mass.

able and indeed of enjoying it, as children or people new in a job. The next stage is boredom and distaste. A final development may be our discovering (with Steere) that work, the same work, is significant and even noble, when seen in a total frame of meaning. This is self-conscious work, examined work, work done in blessed awareness and contemplation. Can any but a few mystics and gifted ones attain this level? Dr. Steere is calling here for what must in any generation be a tiny proportion of elite workers.

Yet even for the few, comparatively, to read this book and ponder its almost evangelical claims, may make them more deliberate and dedicated, more aware that they are examples of a rare ideal which in our time can be only a far-away goal for the millions of their body-wearing, spirit-consuming daily tasks. For the preachments of this prophetic Quaker philosopher can make us not an elite, but saints—in a time when it is practical sainthood to be able to conjoin work and contemplation in everyday life.

—JOHN OLIVER NELSON

Faith for Youth

THE BIG DIFFERENCE by Barton Hunter
Bethany Press, 1957. 96 pp., paperback.

Is being Christian just a matter of wearing a label indicating that you have been brought up within the framework of a certain tradition, or does it make a big difference in the way you live your life? For teenagers and young adults who are ready to ask themselves this question, Barton Hunter has written a simple and concise primer of Christian faith as it should be. *The Big Difference*. Hunter, who is FOR member and secretary of the Disciples Peace Fellowship, has not tried to be profound, certainly not abstruse, yet he does not skimp any of the vital questions that confront concerned Christians.

FILMS

Behind Integration

BURDEN OF TRUTH. Black and white, sound. 16 or 35 mm. 67 min. United Steelworkers of America, Committee on Civil Rights, 1500 Commonwealth Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa. Free on loan.

Burden of Truth opens with a scene of an angry mob of white residents protesting the presence in their community of Joe and Ellamae Hamilton, a Negro couple who have just moved in. From this vantage point in the present, a series of flashbacks unfolds, telling by glimpses out of Joe's personal history some of the barriers the Negro must buck in order to achieve dignity in America.

In the first of these, we see Joe as a teenager, working as a busboy in a restaurant in a Southern town. Here is a brief but vivid vignette of the ways of jim crow: white men compel a Negro father to spare his little boy for their amusement, and Joe, whose employer has described him as "good nigger," gets beaten up when he goes to the defense of a Negro girl being molested by his boss's cronies.

Later flashbacks tell how Joe went north and worked his way through school, how he met Jerry, a white schoolmate whose father was a real estate man, and how he met and wooed Ellamae. A bright student, Joe wants to be a public relations man, and

es to accept the view of Ellamae's em-
red brother, Lloyd, that this is a
te man's world" in which such ambi-
are for a Negro only pipedreams.
d has given up all hope of equality
takes refuge in a kind of inverted
in.

he memorable scene shows Jerry, in
embattled home, tuning in on the
vision news to watch his father greet a
load of newly arrived refugees from
munism. As the father orates on the
es of American freedom, the picture
lves into a flashback—Jerry and his
r are in the latter's real estate office.
r, who has just been taken into the
reports that he has got his first client.

The father beams. The client is Joe Hamil-
ton. The father scowls: "Son, you know we
don't handle colored property." In the
sharply etched discussion of human rights
versus property rights that follows, Jerry
remains adamant, and the scene dissolves
back to the liberal rhetoric at the airport.
The irony could scarcely be more perfect
or more true, for how many of us indeed
are capable of ardent concern for the liber-
ties of those who are far away, while we
remain unmoved except to self-righteous
defensiveness by injustices which are star-
ing us right in the face!

The truth of this episode is like that of
the film as a whole. It is neither preachy
nor sugarcoated and it makes no neat divi-

PENDLE HILL AUTUMN TERM

3 OCTOBER—19 DECEMBER 1958

HOWARD H. BRINTON

***The Faith and Practice of the Society of Friends**

The place of Quakerism in the history of Christianity, the meeting for worship, the
meeting for business, the social doctrines of community, harmony, equality and simplicity.

ALEXANDRA DOCILI

Arts and Crafts

Thru the techniques of plastics, mobiles, painting, free brush design, metal work,
each person discovers the effective use of his imaginative resources.

Writing

Using words as tools we uncover rich source materials in ourselves.

MARY C. MORRISON

The First Three Gospels

A Course featuring group consideration and discussion of these gospels as living
literature and individually relevant teaching.

DOUGLAS V. STEERE

***Significant Contemporary Religious Literature**

A series of five lectures on Thomas Kelly's *Testament of Devotion*, Alan Paton's
Cry, the Beloved Country, George Bernanos's *Diary of a Country Priest*, Evelyn Under-
hill's *Selected Letters*, and *A Biography of C. F. Andrews*, by B. Chaturvedi and Marjorie
Sykes.

DAN WILSON

The General Meeting

A weekly meeting of all residents to share life-experiences and matters concerning
life at Pendle Hill.

WILMER J. YOUNG

Some Problems of Modern Society

A seminar devoted principally to a study of the causes of war and segregation, and
of various methods proposed for their abolition.

Courses open to the public without charge. All other courses are for residents only.

SEND FOR APRIL BULLETIN GIVING FULL YEAR'S DETAILS

PENDLE HILL • WALLINGFORD, PENNSYLVANIA

sion of characters into saints and devils. The characters and situations are all true to life, and the result is a greater authenticity than any of the Hollywood "problem" movies have yet achieved. Despite a few minor reservations about the way the material has been organized and an occasional lapse in the generally convincing characterizations, *Burden of Truth* merits an award as a distinguished work in the field of race relations. The excellent cast is topped by Hari Rhodes as Joe, Shirley Shawn as Ella-mae, Tom Selden as Jerry and Robert De Croy as Lloyd.

—W.R.M.

CHICAGO'S RACE VIOLENCE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 12)

largely reside, but in the white suburbs where they rarely go. It is in the real estate offices and the banks. Most of all, the enemy is in the heart of the white suburbanite who views urban slums and peripheral violence with alarm but without realizing that they could be ended by his willingness to have a Negro live next door to him. Deal with instances of violence where they occur with compassion, courage, and patience, but remember that your vision of the Kingdom of God on earth is likely to be your greatest contribution. Here, to conclude, are some practical suggestions which may call for the same kind of courage as dealing with direct violence.

1. If you are a white suburbanite, put an ad in your local paper, stating that you would not object to having a Negro live next door to you. Get as many co-signers as you can, but do it alone if necessary. Ask for a response from those who agree, and money to put in another ad with their names. This technique has brought very good results where it has been tried.

2. Find the facts about your newspaper and its attitude to news of racial conflict. Is censorship being used to cover inept police or social work and the evils of segregation?

3. Have your church or peace group undertake work exchange projects between Negro-white groups. It is not enough for white work-campers to paint the Negro pastor's study! The Negro volunteer making a practical contribution to community welfare in the white suburb can be a pow-

erful tool for integration. Follow up with the exchange of homes for a weekend or week. Involve your neighbors in discussion afterward—see if they didn't find it possible to get along with Negro neighbors.

During an era when the final war seems almost upon us, it is difficult to concentrate on local problems. A solution seems so and the time so short. But if we are to acceptance of nonviolence in international affairs, we must demonstrate its validity domestically while building the attitudes that make peace possible.

pamphlet reviews

- *Integration: Who's Prejudiced?* by C. M. man Kraus. 31 pp. 35¢. Order from: Her Press, Scottdale, Pa.

When you are fighting prejudice, get the facts and get them straight. Prejudice is mainly based on fear and ignorance. This book gives briefly some of the answers to the most often-heard theories of segregationists and debunks the arguments of those who find excuse for segregation in their interpretation of the Bible. It gives a fact-filled presentation of both the biblical and the scientific case for integration. A thumbnail history of the Negro in America, which is included, may help towards the understanding of the origins of particular prejudice. It ends with a blueprint of action for those who are passively prejudiced.

- *The Human Way Out* by Lewis Mumford. 28 pp., 35¢. Order from: Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

This Pendle Hill pamphlet comprises a speech Lewis Mumford made at the Washington Vigil last November. He excoriates America's pursuit of nihilism and disavows its policy of expediency underlying it; "the problem in Soviet Russia's eye is a real mote; but the beam in our own eye is no less real and ugly." Locating the real problem on a moral level deeper than technology, Mumford sees the "human way out" for America as taking a bold lead on the road to international cooperation for the "protection and salvation of mankind"—"even if at first we have to take it alone."

ADVERTISEMENTS

WANTED: Writers of frequent letters to editors. More than 320 of mine have been printed since mid-1954. Will train you to write yours to newspapers in cities and nations of your own. A. Bofman, 6327 S. May, Chicago 21, Illinois.

APT. TO SHARE: 5 rms, pvt entr, v. c. transp; \$40/mo + ½ phone. UL 8-7334 (N.Y.) 7-9 A.M.

LETTERS

is Fellowship's policy to print all letters of general interest to its readers, within reasonable limits of space, whether they agree with Fellowship's viewpoint or not. You can help to keep this column a free forum by limiting your letters to 200 words.

Teach Enemies Nonviolence

Editors:
disagreed with your comments ("In Con-
FELLOWSHIP, May 1, 1958) on the sug-
on by the Charleston, S. C., *News and*
ier that Southern segregationists try non-
nt resistance to Federal troops. Instead of
raging the thought, FELLOWSHIP ought to
every encouragement to users of violence
nounce it in favor of more peaceful means,
pective of the ends to be achieved.
id Hitler asked how to apply Gandhian
s in his campaign against Jews, should
ists have told him? I say yes. First, how-
misguided the goal, it is always better to
e towards it by peaceful means. Second,
e very instruction in nonviolence, pacifists
find opportunities not otherwise avail-
to discuss love and truth with the oppo-
n.
ird, *ahimsa* holds that its advocates have
monopoly on the whole truth, and that in
g discussion with our enemies we may
a higher understanding of our goal than
r side had separately.

FRANKLIN ZAHN
Pomona, Calif.

In Defense of Fromm

Editors:
have, within the last two months, wit-
d three men's attempts to evaluate Erich
m's ideology.
e, Mike Wallace, in his interview on tele-
n. Two, Dr. Murphy in his review of *The*
of Loving (FELLOWSHIP May 1958) and
r, Mr. Pomeroy in his letter to the editors
e same issue.
at neither of these men made an effort
nderstand Dr. Fromm's standpoint is obvi-
to those of us who, agreeing or not, at
understand him.
i. Wallace got his rebuttal directly from
Fromm who advised him to read "a little
" about what he was talking about. Mr.
eroy should definitely do the same. As to
Murphy, his critique of Dr. Fromm's book
s to be only a springboard from which he
oar into the exposition of his somewhat
asingly vague ideas about God and the
ectual's duty in the battle against the
"monster."
Murphy makes no mention of Dr.
m's twenty-odd pages on the subject mat-
f God, and he completely misrepresents
Fromm's idea of the quality of evilness of
rn society and its causes.
his book Fromm writes: "... the main
ition for the achievement of love is the

overcoming of narcissism . . . the opposite of narcissism is objectivity . . . the faculty to think objectively is reason . . . the emotional attitude behind reason is humility. . . ."

Let us then, at least those who are striving for fellowship, be humble and not make frivolous criticism on any man's lifetime thoughts.

In my opinion *The Art of Loving* is an outstanding book written by an outstanding man.

CLAUD STEINER
Berkeley, Calif.

Eisenhower and Little Rock

Dear Editors:

I was very interested in the letter by Horace B. English, in the July 1 issue of FELLOWSHIP. In it he mentions your editorial suggestion that Eisenhower might have gone to Little Rock and escorted the Negro children to school. And he more or less laments the fact that no one thought of such action at the time.

As a matter of fact, on September 11, 1957, I wrote a letter to the President, suggesting just such action. In my letter, I made the following suggestions to the President:

"1. Call upon all church leaders and citizens of the nation to undertake a continuous and directed vigil of prayer that this situation may be resolved and that law and order may be maintained.

"2. Travel to Little Rock yourself to counsel with the people directly involved in the situation, to show your willingness to place your person in jeopardy if necessary in order to uphold the federal law, and to lead the poor handful of Negro students who seek to enroll in the high school through the heroic picket line which opposes them.

"It is my belief that such action on your part would give the nation the kind of moral purpose and moral leadership which it so sorely needs in this age."

I am certain the letter got to the President's assistants, for I sent it registered, special delivery, and I received the signed registry receipt. Of course, this does not mean that it ever reached Eisenhower himself. I never received an answer to the letter.

ROBERT C. DELK
Knoxville, Tennessee

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

If you are planning to move, please try to notify FELLOWSHIP at least one month in advance. Indicate both old and new address on a postcard and send to: Change of Address, FELLOWSHIP, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y. (If you are unable to do this, your copy of FELLOWSHIP will be unavoidably delayed, due to the mechanical requirements of our addressing department.)

THAT MEN MAY LIVE...in peace together

FELLOWSHIP is published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The principles of the FOR are embodied in its Statement of Purpose, which constitute an affirmation of intent rather than a precise creed. In it, members of the FOR are agreed in the following:

- ✂ They refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;
- ✂ They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;
- ✂ They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;
- ✂ They endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with persons of other classes, nationalities, and races;
- ✂ They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

All persons, regardless of race, sex or religious affiliation, who conscientiously support this affirmation of purpose, are invited to become members of the Fellowship. Membership is not conditional upon contributions of money. However, contributions are invited and are deductible for income tax purposes. For a free copy of the full Statement of Purpose (with membership application), write to Box 271, Nyack, New York.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

REGIONAL SECRETARIES

MIDDLE ATLANTIC

Charles C. Walker
Cheyney, Penna.

NEW ENGLAND

Robert Gussner
10 Kirkland Rd.
Cambridge 38, Mass.

MIDWEST

Dorothy Calkins
1217 Judson Ave.
Evanston, Ill.

SOUTH

James M. Lawson
1407 South St.
Nashville, Tenn.

PACIFIC COAST

Wilson C. Riles
1205 W. Jefferson Blvd.
Los Angeles 7, Calif.

advisory council

Roland H. Bainton
Harold A. Bosley
Charles F. Boss
Margueritte Harmon B.
George A. Buttrick
Henry J. Cadbury
Robert L. Calhoun
Bernard C. Clausen
Henry Hitt Crane
Edwin T. Dahlberg
Albert Edward Day
William J. Faulkner
Nels F. S. Ferré
Harry Emerson Fosdick
Richard B. Gregg
Isidor Hoffman
John Haynes Holmes
E. Stanley Jones
Kenneth Scott Latourette
William Appleton Lawrence
Mary Ely Lyman
Clarence Pickett
Carl Rasmussen
Paul Scherer
Arthur L. Swift Jr.
Howard Thurman
Dan West

REPRESENTATIVES OF DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATES

BAPTIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP

Rev. William M. Hammond Jr.
483 West State Street
Trenton, New Jersey

CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN

PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP
Joseph Howell
110 East 29 St., New York City

DISCIPLES PEACE FELLOWSHIP

Barton Hunter
222 So. Downey Avenue
Indianapolis, Indiana

EPISCOPAL PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Joseph Rohrer
183 Cedar Avenue
Hackensack, New Jersey

EVANGELICAL & REFORMED

PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP
Richard Denzler
2139 Wharton Road
Glenside, Penna.

LIBERAL RELIGIOUS

PEACE FELLOWSHIP
George Brooks
Unitarian Church
Dunkirk, N. Y.

LUTHERAN PEACE FELLOWSHIP

Rev. Albert E. Myers
Box 147
Jeromesville, Ohio

FELLOWSHIP OF

METHODIST PACIFISTS
Miss Molly O'Steen
Box 871
Nashville, Tenn.

NEW CHURCH PACIFIST

FELLOWSHIP
George F. Bischof
126 Broadway
Rockville Centre, N. Y.

PEACE FELLOWSHIP OF

PRESBYTERIANS
Mrs. B. W. Hamilton
52 East 66 Street
New York City

SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN

PEACE FELLOWSHIP
Rev. Henry Lofquist
No. Highlands Presbyterian
Church
Bessemer, Alabama

BURIED TREASURE



ances are that you are a subscriber to FELLOWSHIP. That is how most of the people o read FELLOWSHIP get it. We hope you value it enough to keep getting it that way. what about the others? FELLOWSHIP will never be a magazine of mass circulation, there must be thousands who would be interested if they knew about this unusual ifist magazine.

For countless numbers of these potential subscribers, however, FELLOWSHIP remains ied treasure which may someday be discovered, probably by accident. Couldn't some- ng be done to hasten the process of discovery and make it less accidental?

Yes, but we need your help. If you believe that FELLOWSHIP is valuable enough to re, there are a number of things you can do:

1. Send for copies of **Two Questions for the Man of Peace**. This handy little folder tells the why and how of **Fellowship**. Mail copies to your friends or distribute them at peace meetings. Available free.
2. Ask your college or seminary bookstore to order ten copies of **Fellowship** on consignment.
3. Donate a gift subscription to your local library, your minister and others. Three dollars a year will bring them six big bimonthly issues and 24 issues of the semimonthly Peace Information Edition. **Note: Special student rate—\$2.**
4. Buy a bundle order of ten copies for \$2, postpaid, for selling or giving.
5. Mention **Fellowship** in conversation about current issues.
6. Send us a list of names and addresses for our prospect list. People on this list receive a sample copy of the "big" **Fellowship** plus a free four-month trial subscription to the Peace Information Edition.

If you care deeply about the things that FELLOWSHIP cares deeply about, remember t there is no other publication in this country that is equipped to do the job of spread- the word for peace and reconciliation. You need FELLOWSHIP. FELLOWSHIP needs . And don't forget the other fellow.

Fellowship



Box 271, Nyack, New York

PEACE AND RECONCILIATION

FELLOWSHIP GREETINGS CARRY THE MESSAGE OF



EVERY YEAR, MORE PEOPLE are buying Fellowship Cards. The sale of these beautiful Christmas greetings has become, over the years, an important source of income for the ongoing year-round work of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. When you send a Fellowship Card, you not only communicate the true message of Christmas to the person who receives the card, but you also say "peace on earth" to many others throughout the world during the New Year.

At left are photographs of the eight Fellowship Cards now available. All are printed in multiple colors, except the Chinese card at bottom which is in green duochrome. Three are brand new. At the top is a card by Philippe Cloës, a new and different version of last year's most popular card. Next, a French madonna and child, charming in its reverent simplicity. Below it, a joyful chorus of children representing the races and nations of the world, drawn expressly for Fellowship Cards by Erica von Kager. The rest are old favorites from previous years.

We wish we could send you samples of all the cards, or at least the new ones. But if we did, we could not keep our prices as amazingly low as they are. To give you an idea of how the cards look, however, we have prepared a handsome brochure showing the new cards in full color. It will be mailed soon to all members and friends; if you do not receive yours, or if you want extra copies to distribute among your friends and neighbors, drop a postcard to:

FELLOWSHIP CARD

CHRISTMAS CARDS FROM FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS
BOX 271, NYACK, N. Y.